KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal History of Christianity

Volume 8

15th & 16th Century

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KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal history of Christianity

VOLUME 8

THE z y. AND I6. CENTURY

From the exile of the popes in Avignon to the Peace of Augsburg

Special thanks to my friends Alfred Schwarz and Herbert Steffen as well as to all those whose selfless support I gratefully experienced after the death of my *parents.*

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i. CHAPTER

THE BEGINNINGS OF KARL IV. OF LUXEMBOURG-BOHEMIA (6-1*343 7) AND CLEMENS VI (• 4* 5*J' A FORERUNNER OF THE RENAISSANCE PASSENGERS

-In accordance with the prevailing concept of kingship, Karl saw himself as the ruler of Christ. Moreover, he felt that God had chosen him to be ruler. In the exercise of kingship **Charles** was guided by the Christian Church's view of the office of ruler - Charles IV took advantage, he tricked, deceived, spoke double-talk, deceived, caused damage, stirred up discord and incited. Karl Geheul did not seek to take advantage of the crimes against the to draw ... -His divine sense of service as well as his belief in ruling on behalf of God, *z nköorucn<n* its general and particular **scrupetlasity in the 'V'/9H** d<r Mir¢c1.- Eckkard fdüll¢t-JVtertcns'

-Clement's lavish court household and his splendid entourage were appropriate for a worldly prince, but not for a prince of the church. He enjoyed banquets and colorful feasts ... He was a shameless nepotist who showered relatives and compatriots with offices and gifts. The enormous expenses that the church did not The financial problems that arose only because of this maglosigcic, but also because of the huge loans ax France, the acquisition of Avignon (8o ooo gold sticks} and the costly construction of the Palais Neuf, **as well as** the campaigns in Italy and against the Turks, soon ate up the extensive funds that John XXIf. and Benedict XII. had accumulated. John Norman Davidson Kelly-

While his predecessor, Emperor Louis IV the Bavarian, had fought the last great battle against the popes (VII ¢86 ff.), his successor tried his luck with them, not without success. Various circumstances and peculiarities stood him in good stead. Above all, the weakness of the popes, the crisis of the Hanzean kingship, not least certain aspects of his own spirit and character.

Charles IV, the future German emperor, was the great-grandson of King Rudolf I of Habsburg, the grandson of Emperor Henry VII, and was born in Prague as the eldest son of King Joan of Bohemia from the House of Luxembourg arR*4- May 13 I6. His baptismal nun, Wenceslas, came from a maternal pre-Myslid tradition. After an unhappy early childhood {due to his parents' quarrel) in ßöhrnen, his father sent him to Paris at the age of seven; he was educated at the court of his uncle Charles IV of Valois and was named Charles after him, his godfather.

The prince was highly talented and unusually educated for his time. Thanks to divine grace, he says in his autobiography, he spoke Czech, his mother tongue, as well as German, Italian, French and Latin (although he only spoke Latin and German). He soon came into influential ecclesiastical hands. His most important teacher, as Charles himself testifies, was the Benedictine monk Pierre Roger, at the time Abbot of Fécamp, advisor to the French king, later Pope Clement VI. i 33o, at the age of fourteen, Charles was recalled from Paris and his great-uncle, the Elector and Archbishop Balduin of Trier, a key figure in German politics at the time, introduced him to political life and to the world of the Catholic Church.

the territorial administrative practice of his Luxembourg home country
of the.°

Charles IV, who attracts the attention of modern historians like hardly any other medieval potentate, is said to have been not only clever, but also insidious and duplicitous, a "cunning man of scalding cunning" (Diwald), energetic, purposeful, thrifty, but equally greedy for money and intent on constantly increasing his domestic power.

Dominated by the fear of sin, the fear of the Last Judgement, he regularly underwent retreats, penitential exercises, preached sermons, sometimes prayed for days, invoked saints, the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius {V zzy ff.), whose feast day he declared a public holiday. He particularly venerated St. Wenceslas, St. Charles and relics, the cult of which he also promoted in an unusual way, even performing ecstatic acts himself. He favored religious revival movementsii, reported in his -Vita Caroli IV. ab ipso conscripta-, almost the only autobiography of a European ruler, in striking detail on the principles of a Christian life, also felt guided by God as a prince and protected in battle, it was no coincidence that he liked to appear as a priest-king, surrounded by religious symbols, in adoration of the Madonna with theJ esuskind, indeed wanted Prague to become the "Rome of the North" in general
make.

KArl xwisChßSl i 33 I and 1333 as his father's governor in northern Italy, where he escaped a poison attack in Pavia
-under the protection of divine grace, because a solemn mass was held at length and I communicated and did not want to eat anything before breakfast. Just as the attempt to fleece the rich, but p a r t y - t o r n , feud-ridden country under Luxembourg's regency, to collect the - imperial taxes, despite triumphant initial successes, failed as completely as the barbaric war campaign of his money-hungry grandfather Henry VII {VII4 53 ff.!).

Pope John XXII was also involved in the Bohemian adventure. Strictly speaking, he wanted to defeat his Lombard enemies through the Böh-

The young Charles, however, did not want to continue the fiasco in blood. The young Charles, however, did not want to continue the fiasco with bloodshed. "When our father saw," he wrote later, "that he was running out of resources and could no longer wage war against the lords of Lombardy, he thought of withdrawing and wanted to leave the cities and the war to us. But we refused, which we could not maintain with honor." So the two princes finally disappeared from the country without any success - like smoke.

Charles IV was indeed a notable exception among the monarchs of the Christian Middle Ages, waging war only rarely and then never for long periods. Thus i 37 i and x j y3 each a campaign against the Margraviate of Brandenburg, whereupon he compensated the Wittelsbachs for the loss with at least yoo ooo florins. Thus the imperial war against the Swabian League of Cities, where he relented in i3z7 when the Count of Wümemberg lost a battle.

Charles, who by and large deserved to be called a prince of peace, preferred negotiations, settlements and personal agreements to implement his conventionally successful policies, even if he could be implacable towards enemies. However, he did not rule by force of arms, as was customary, but through diplomacy, the granting of privileges, pledges and life annuities, barter and inheritance contracts, repeatedly through marriage agreements and, to an astonishing extent, his real means of power, through considerable settlements and payments. "Everything
other is to be tried rather than the iron-, he wrote• 35 i to Pe- trarca, -that is what the doctors want and that is what the emperors have learned from experience, although he was thinking especially of himself.
the, as he was also called, -merchant on the
Throne.-

However, he did not shy away from unscrupulousness, brazen tricks and crimes in his peace efforts, as has always been part of the dirty business of politics, far more than the opposite in any case. "Charles IV overreached, he outwitted, deceived, spoke double-tongued, he cheated, caused damage, stirred up discord, incited" {Miiller-Mertens). In short, he was, to put it more finely, a master

in the field of covert diplomacy.

Game" (Pfitnner). For the sake of profit, he did not hesitate to deny all noble principles, for example, to coin Jewish blood into pale capital. He ceded the rights over the so often and repeatedly hunted lands to several imperial cities and assured the new usufructuaries of Jewish property in advance of documentary impunity in the event that "the Jews there would soon be slain" {<44 y!).

As Margrave of Moravia, Charles expanded his experience even further.

After his father's blindness, he also ruled de facto in Bohemia. He joined the anti-Wittelsbach front and soon became its most important exponent, above all through the support of his former teacher, Pope Clement VI.

CLEMENSUI(54*-*3i-)

UN D IE K x IG I1'4 VO N)ÜEAPEL

We already encountered this church leader briefly in the last volume {VII yoo f.). But in many respects it deserves more detailed consideration.

Born into a noble family from Limousin around i zqi at Maumont Castle (dép. Correze), Pierre Roger became Benedictine abbot in Fécamp after studying in Paris i3 x6 and in the following four]ahren bishop of Arras, archbishop of Sens and of Rouen, official propagandist of another planned crusade. He was a confidant of King Philip VI, became a cardinal in 33 8 and four years later pope - because of his high
as a preacher and theologian" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).'

But Clemens was not only, as the Catholic Seppelt assures us, -a capable theologian-, a much-celebrated orator and preacher-, not only, it is said, amiable, sociable, kind, generous, a promoter of art and science, a patron of the Avignonese papal library, for which he had Petrarch, to whom he granted a canonry in Pisa, collect Cicero manuscripts.

No, the new, unanimously elected pontiff was a great benefactor, above all a benefactor of himself. Coming from Rouen, the richest benefice in France, and so accustomed to living well, to luxury, he surpassed many things that had already existed.

He bought the city of Avignon and the surrounding area 134 of the Queen of Naples, whereby he also took the scandalous morally rehabilitated.

Joan I of Anjou, married four times, had her first husband Andrew of Hungary strangled in the castle of Aversa after only two years of marriage, together with her lover, her father's cousin, Prince Louis of Taranto, whom she married

- Incidentally, Louis was a prince who was also highly undesirable to the Curia; the papal legate was therefore instructed to crown only the queen. InJ anuar• 34 she fled with Louis to her county of Provence and

to the Pope, while the Lord of Uiigarn, Louis I. -the Great-, the The king, brother of the liquidated Andrew, to whom he had previously bought the Neapolitan crown f o r 44 OOO marks, undertook two terrible revenge campaigns against John's empire. However, the king, who fought the Bogomils in the Balkans, later expelled the Jews from Hungary and was also personally pious, failed with his claims to the throne due to the pope's resistance.

Joanna sold him the city of Avignon for 8o ooo florins, not a high price, an almost irritatingly low price, if it was paid at all, and Clemens absolved her of the guilt of murdering her husband, albeit only after a sham trial in Avignon. He also recognized the new marriage. Joan then returned to Naples with her murderer husband and the highest blessing, and on May zy. May i3 yz, Louis and his wife were crowned king of Sicily by a papal legate in Naples. When he died, to look ahead briefly, r 36s, Joan married James III of Majorca and, after his death, in a fourth marriage, i 75 Otro of Brunswick, until she in turn was strangled i 38s, on behalf of her brother-in-law Charles Ifl. of Anjou-Durazzo, King of Nea- pel, who w a s murdered four years later.'°

Lux u S, ORGI EN U ff D TO RTU REN

Clement VI, although a monk, held court in a glamorous, almost oriental, pompous manner, indeed he did so with "sophisticated representation and external splendor", as even the Catholics of WetzerfWelt - all the princes of his time before him - said. He bought silk from Tuscany, fine linen from Reims, Paris and Flanders. He bought forty different kinds of gold brocade in Syria, his fur requirements were enormous: i zzo Hermelin skins - -68 for a hood, 4i for a cape, 3 io for a cloak, i o for two more hoods, 6 for another hood,
3o for a hat, 8o for a large hood and 88 for biretta or papal capes -. But the lords of Avignon, the followers of poor Jesus, wasted five to ten percent of their annual budget on luxury imports.

Clement VI spent several times more on the kitchen and cellar than his two predecessors {Clemens
V alone almost a thousand florins a week). Only for the coronation banquet did the sixth Clement - "elected" pope because of his high &gnbiing as a preacher and theologian - pay more than i ooo gold florins.

Of course, a little pleasure, EBlust is allowed. After all, St. Benedict had already demanded two cooked dishes for the monk, so that if he did not eat one, he could enjoy the other. Benedict also allowed raw food as a third course. And later, the Benedictines were often served more than two dishes. The "Consuetudines Farfenscs" prescribe three at every meal and the reformed Benedictines also always served several outside of Lent. In many monasteries, however, there was soon a third, fourth and fifth course even on fast days. Even St. Peter Venerabilis defended a third, fourth course - with reference to Benedict, because, Peter continued his thought, if a monk could not enjoy even the second meal, he had to have a third or fourth at his disposal.

The ascetics found different types of bread; wheat, rye and oat bread, as well as special types of bread. And in between rolls, wafers, waffles, tartlets etc. There were salads for dessert

and fruit. Meat was forbidden by &nedict, but only meat from four-footed animals. So fish was the preferred choice, even when feasting. And it was not uncommon to allow poultry, which was even tastier than meat from four-legged animals. With reference to the Bible, Hrabarius Maurus already considered poultry to be fish, as birds were created on the same day as fish and, like fish, they also came from the water. Peter Abae- lard then emphasized that the Bible does not demand the renunciation of meat. And already In the late ia. and in the*3. century, the ban on meat was observed in most monasteries.

So indulge Pope Clement.

He also showed unbridled generosity towards his relatives - he shamelessly made half a dozen of them archbishops and cardinals. His nepotism, as Seppelt also admits, "went beyond all measure" and cost the church dearly. His ostentatiousness cost even more.

If Clement V, the first Avignonese pope - together with King Philip IV the Fair, exterminator of the Templars {VII 46i ff.!) follower John XXß, once Bishop of Avignon {-3* -3*5), then in the ßishop's palace, on which Benedict XII built a larger fortified, towered residence, the Palais vieux, Clement VI added a new building (Palais neuf) to the south in accordance with his increased needs.

The papal residence {prison at the time of the French Revolution, barracks in the iq. Century barracks, in the zo. Museum) was both a palace and a dark, impregnable fortress, the "finest and strongest building in the world". It not only protected the Vicar of Christ from his enemies with four-metre-thick walls, it also enabled him to enjoy lavish parties, fantastic banquets and veritable orgies in the midst of great splendour, with women and mistresses having as unhindered access as the prelates, even to the private chambers of his holiness. "The accusations made by contemporaries against the Pope's sex life cannot be dis- cussed" (Kelly), "nor can they be dispelled by further toning down" (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte).

And just as Clement's predecessor Benedict XII had already bought Petrarch's very pretty sister, whom the pope "like an old lecher", from her brother Flerardo "for a large sum" {after Petrarch himself had refused the cardinalate allegedly offered to him in exchange), so Clement VI, St. Birgitta of Sweden called him "amator carnis", preferred his niece, the voluptuous Cécile, Countess of Turenne, to whom he was so close that his favor was very often obtained through her - Petrarch calls her "his Semiramis, stained by incestuous debauchery". And in the eighteen letters "sine titulo- he emphasizes: "I speak of what I have seen, not of what I have heard.

The hypocrisy, the spiritual dressing-up, was, as always, rampant. For although the Pope, mocked as an ecclesiastical Dionysus, took it so easy himself, he excoriated his clergy for their libidinous unbridledness: - You rage like a herd of sticie against the cows of the people!"- He even allowed prostitutes and, certainly not as the only deputy, drew his own tax from them. Not enough, papal officials at the time acquired "a beautiful, new, respectable brothel" from a doctor's widow, as the document piously states, "in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ".

The amorous activities were often initiated by banquets, with which prelates in particular courted the high priest's affections.

For example, at the reception given by Cardinal Annibale in Avignon in the year Doinini i 3q3: splendid, carpet-covered walls, the papal sumptuous bed covered in velvet, silk and gold brocade. Whole squadrons of squires served hare and venison, wild boar and kid, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, cranes, twenty-seven different dishes. (But - what then! When in the same era a simple Bishop of Zeitz was served the first course at the consecration of the parish church in Weissenfels: -egg soup with saffron, peppercorns and honey, a millet vegetable, mutton with onions, a roasted chicken with plums. For the second course: stockfish with oil and raisins, in

Ol baked bleak, boiled eel with pepper5 roasted kippers with mustard. As a third course: pickled boiled fish, baked barbel, small birds baked hard in lard with radish, a leg of pork with gherkins.)

Man does not live by bread alone. In Weissenfels as in Avignon.

Five types of wine flowed from a columned fountain with trees, from the Rhine, from Provence and from other landscapes blessed by God. A tree made of silver bore pears, figs, peaches and golden grapes, while another was adorned with candied fruits in many colors. In between, there were interludes, yesterdays, a tournament. The chef and his thirty eagles performed a dance. Almost everything was richly endowed, from the lay nobility to twenty prelates, sixteen cardinals to the Holy Father, who received precious rings worth i 5o guilders, a white horse, price zoo guilders, and everything paid for with church money. Finally, this day of salvation history {"Blessed are the eyes-, to paraphrase Luke io,z3, "who see what you see...-) ended with a picaresque sketch and, according to Petrarch, -the inevitable orgy-."

Things were a little more intimate in that small, double-diwan-of course, t h e hermelin-lined tower room, in which Clement VI naked with his numerous mistresses" {Cawthorne) amused him. But his manners, according to Wetzer/Welte, did not always match the sanctity of his station and the dignity he held. But doesn't the contrast also work very well* Holy and hypocritical in personal union?

It was also in keeping with professional sanctity that at the same time, while the Pope, called "sariftmüthig" and "amiable" by Cardinal Hergeriröther, was prancing around naked on naked, deep below in the -Sa1le de Tonure-, the likewise naked victims of the Inquisition -behagreed-, mimnter also to death {cf. VI* 4 ff.!}, heaven and hell !agen so close together - it's just a pity that Christianity could not get a picture of it! Occasionally from his confessor earnestly admonished him to chastity, replied

the pope, accustomed from his youth to scMafen with women, and jeœt he drove on the advice of his doctors - what sensitive Medici - døm't *ton.* "But after all, he was magnanimous enough to recognize all his children" (Cawthorne}.

The expenses of the Holy Father and his court were enormous; especially the honorable conduct of the **Xardians,** who also built magnificent palaces and, endowed with many benefices and lavished with valuable gifts, strove towards paradise in a dignified, diet-rich manner, following the example of their highest shepherds - one with ten stables for the horses, one with ş i Hăusem, rented for his entourage. Because they always knew how to go in there with GeÍd, whether eating in or out."

l1'dTROITU S ET EKITUS

This already began in antiquity, when in early Christianity the pro-ownership direction prevailed against the anti-ownership direction, the anti-social direction against the social direction (III, Chapter 5); when in lay circles the double standard that is still so popular today was practiced and shamelessly declared: -I make the big money, my wife practices charity"; aÍs there were already Christian bankers at the turn of the 3rd century, even one of them, the ill-famed **KallİstI I**7**^°),** became pope and saint **{III ą3q**);
when, among the bishops, no less a personage than St. Augustine was the high
ideal of "laborious poverty" (laboriosa paupertas) and condemned the poor to remain "in the eternally unchanged hard yoke of the lower class", for which they slept much better than the rich, who were so tormented by worries; when the pact with the latter then also made the Church rich and ever richer, by mercilessly and truly not infrequently fleecing everything to blood, stealing from pagans from century to century - heretics -, Jews and not least its own followers.

Even in the early Middle Ages, the taxes and pensions of the

Church domains, the dationes, tributa, servitia, functiones, pensioner, all the revenues from bridges, roads, gates, markets, rivers, harbors, forests, meadows, etc. to the Curia, whose money-suck, complained the theologian and church reformer Provost Gerhoh von Reichersberg in the 16th century. The theologian and church reformer, Provost Gerhoh von Reichersberg, complained in the 16th century that since the days of Gregory VII, the need for money had become so great that the whole world was unable to satisfy it. In Rome, moaned the poet Freidank in the early 13th century, even %uber łosgesprochen, without bufie and restitution of the looted. All money comes to Rome, says another author, including all sin, so that one has to wonder where it finds a place. In short, the papal chambers, which united or defended all the thousands of money flows, became the very model of modern banking - "and the German reform gained its momentum through the indignation of the sincerely pious at the fact that the Church had become an Italian financial enterprise working with all its means.'°.

With the increasing expansion of papal power, however, the The generous expansion of their financial system in Avignon reached a certain peak, especially as the change at that time from payment in kind to payment in money also resulted in new revenue items - grievances about misdeeds, extortion, bribes, demands, corrupt and corrupting. And yet, or perhaps because of this, it was perhaps the most useful system ever devised for the collection of gold from an entire continent (Chamberlin).

Already since the i3. The Curia had often had its pecuniary interests taken care of by Florentine merchants, the Bardi, Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli, Bonacorsi, Alberti, i.e. those who were also politically close to it. Some, like the Bardi and Peruzzi, collapsed towards the middle of the iĄ. They also dragged the AcciaiuoÍi into bankruptcy - bancaroi- ta, a word derived from the custom in Italian municipalities to break the bank where the -banchieri pursued their trade in public squares in the event of insolvency. Of course, before these and other Florentine and Italian bankers went bankrupt at the hands of the Curia, they had been wilfully sold by them.

Their sons in church ministries were showered with clerical salaries and income, just as they themselves had an influence on the allocation of clerical positions,

As early as 13 7,4 i ltalian money changers were d o i n g business in Avignon. "Every opportunity to acquire money was exploited ruthlessly," admits the Handbook of Church History. The Holy See now became the world's first pinance power;

In terms of pure income - which had more than doubled in Avignon - he was in fourth place after the kings of France, England and Naples.'-.

In the papal castle overlooking the Rhone, the Babylon of the West - Petrarch had never known a more disgusting, unclean place - treasures from all over the world were piled up. And Alvarez Pelajo, a curial who was quite loyal to the Pope, reported that h e had never entered the papal chambers without meeting the ecclesiastical lords while counting the money. -The prelates," he complained, "do not teach their flocks, but plunder them and cut them up. The bread that goes to the poor is wasted on spenders and dogs." But when he himself became bishop, when he too was exploiting the poor according to the papal model, his dioceses did not insult him, indeed mistreated him. Alvarez, who once so bitterly denounced the papal greed for money, is now himself accused of extortion and greed in many points of complaint - ab bove majori discit arare minor {as the old surigen, so do the young chirp).

Cardinal Hugo Roger left behind twenty-one bags of gold in a red chest when he died. Not his only treasure. Many, many thousands of gold florins were also found elsewhere.'-

No, what wasn't pouring out of every nook and cranny in Avignon the telt together!

For example, the inflows from the ecclesiastical state, customs duties, levies, fines, the over-mirages of the administrators, etc., were reduced by the passage of time, but by no means stopped.

Similar, albeit lower, revenues were generated from the same

neighboring "Comtat de Venisse" (Venaissin), to please the Holy Fathers (with interruptions) after the Albigensian Wars, so to speak, and expanded in 1317 by stolen Templars; a territory of about 80 towns and castles bought with unheard-of blood sacrifices, which the lords of Avignon placed under the control of rectors, often close relatives.

The amounts to be paid by state feudal lords dependent on the popes were enormous, totaling almost 70,000 florins per year: Naples 40,000, Sicily 15,000, Aragon (for Sardinia and Corsica) 8,000, England 5,000, although often less was paid, England probably the least, which is why the rickets were sometimes enormous. In 1300, for example, Naples owed the Curia 466,700 guilders in feudal interest, but three decades later it still owed 444,410 guilders. Tribute was also collected from towns and dominions liable to pay interest, the census of exempt bishoprics, monasteries and churches.[20]

The first is St. Peter's pence (denarius or census S. Petri, English Rompeni and others), originally a voluntary, then an obligatory annual payment. British kings paid St. Peter's pence to the bishops of Rome out of reverence for the "Prince of the Apostles" from the 8th century onwards. The first to donate it was King Offa in 786, an annual sum of 365 gold sticks (mancuses) "for the poor and the lights". Since the 12th century Scandinavia (including Finland, Iceland, Gronland), Poland, Hungary, Istria and Dalmatia, but this resulted in many difficulties and resistance. In the German East, people occasionally wanted to "rather be hanged" than pay tribute. Since its exile in Avignon, the papacy has interpreted it as an expression of its supremacy over secular power. (Generally abolished at the time of the Reformation, St. Peter's pence has been returned to the Holy See as an "annual free gift of love" by all Catholic parishes in the world since the abolition of the church state in the form of a "church service collection" in the 20th century: Lexikon fiir Theologie und Kirche).

The bestowal and confirmation of crowns was also highly paid for. Innocent IV. (1243-1254) received for this from the

Norwegian King Haakon around ty ooo marks. But even the tsar sent rich gifts for his coronation. And no legate was allowed to return to Rome from his travels without money (not only in Innocent's case).

WEEKLY OUTLOOK SA RI ANTS OR EVERYTHING HAS ITS FIRST FREEDOM

Indulgences (p. 368) became increasingly popular in the later Middle Ages, but there were already precursors to them in the earlier Middle Ages, the possibility of making satisfaction with money, called redemption or commutation (conversion). For example, you could pay a denarius to avoid a strict fasting day or, if you were poor, you could have 5o strokes of the cane, you could perform a certain number of prayers or genuflections for a year or a week and, of course, pay a certain amount of money. The system made it possible to carry out a long-term church penance in a very short time if you had enough money. In addition, the Christian penitents soon began to pay someone else, a so-called justus, often a monk, to perform the penance in their place, thus enriching the monasteries. The wealthier the monastery, the quicker the penance could be paid. King Eadgar's penal code even created its own standard for the treatment of monks. -According to this, the magnate can complete a seven-year penance in just three days by first taking twelve men to help h i m , who fast for three days on water, bread and green herbs, and then seven times as many men who fast for him in the same way for three days; in this way, as many days would be fasted as there are days in seven years" (lschmitz).

The development gradually led to the phenomenon of indulgences. In the case of all the more important ones, a portion of the proceeds went to the popes, who were already paid for the production. A tax was collected for the concept and another for the final copy,

a third for registration, a fourth for bulling (taxa abbreviatorum, scriptorum, registri, plumbi).

There were indulgences for all sorts of things - from stone grinding, for example when building a church, to church attendance and indulgences for the dead. However, the latter hoax was controversial within the church itself. Around the middle of the 13th century, the well-known canonist Henry of Susa {Hostierisis), Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who was held in the highest esteem by the popes, denounced indulgences for the deceased as a sinful fraud. But according to church teacher Alberrus Magnus, they were very useful for the poor souls in purgatory!

For the living person, the more he paid, the more an Ablafi obviously achieved. God carin rechrien. And at least in the late Middle Ages, the respective chewing sum for legionaries of indulgences at the Curia is said to have been listed in registers. In the early i c. century, the antipope Gtegor VtIl, whom Pope Calixt II ruined so mercilessly (VI 398 f.!), granted the inhabitants of Lucca a complete indulgence for the fortieth part of their property as a crusade donation. Innocent IV. granted iaJy the complete

The rebate for transferring a quarter or even larger part of the annual income; those who gave less, of course, could only expect a smaller rebate corresponding to the gift. God is just.

Perfect indulgences {they are not called that for nothing) were on the

most expensive, but the amount varied - it depended on the - importance- of the item {the advantage for the recipient). For Milan, the costs in i39r amounted to iooo guilders, i3q8

to 6oo guilders, for Munich in the late ty, century to•45. for Trier i yi 5 to z3o and (in another case) to azo guilders, Popes of higher rank occasionally also appear to have

to have granted higher indulgences. For example, Clement V, the patron of the Templars (VII4** ff.!), usually only granted indulgences of io, zO,4 . 6o or ioo days, but once gave the Duchess Blanka of Brittany an indulgence of so years, Queen Isabella of England and the daughter Blanka of Louis IX of France even of i oo years.

In the late Middle Ages, the letters of indulgence already numbered in the thousands, and the graces of indulgence multiplied enormously, as if there was a connection with the chronic lack of money and the often ever-increasing expenditure of the popes. Godre's deputies were completely unscrupulous. Although they often assured in their bulls that the indulgence just granted would never be revoked, they disregarded this at the next opportunity, even declaring the other indulgences invalid in new bulls despite all clauses to t h e contrary, even if it had been expressly stated that they could never be suspended!

Even after the Council of Trent, Spanish bishops sold -iri traditional way", they made indulgences in exchange for money. from a "pecuniary line of business" (Kober).

Another method of increasing mammon was ex- communication.

Whenever possible, they were applied and the ex-communicated were then ransomed. As a whole hail of curses, mainly for political reasons, gradually descended on the faithful, including bishops and abbots, and as, according to the complaints of contemporaries, almost a third of Christendom was under ban or interdict in the late Middle Ages, with the church ban sometimes lasting twelve or more years, this was a very lucrative business, even if the ban was no longer as effective as before. Or - another variant of exploitation - lay people were called before different ecclesiastical courts at the same time. If they then failed to appear here or there, they were excommunicated until they had freed themselves by paying large sums of money.*'

In addition, there were all the monetary constraints that were imposed on the clergy made.

For example, the not inconsiderable riches of the archbishops when receiving the pallium, originally a gift, then a fee, the early lamented obligation to pay. The usual hypocrisy to avoid the accusation of simony, the voluntary nature of the subsidium caritati- vum was emphasized when it had long been enforced.

The popes acquired a taste for it and demanded gifts

or money from the bishops, the abbots, who lived in Rome, collected a third of the annual revenue of each diocese during the prescribed Visitatio ad limina Apostolo- rum, the visits of the prelates to the Curia, and also collected for benefices that they transferred or confirmed. Pope Innocent IV, who was also particularly gifted in this branch of business, was given the epithet ornans -Pfründenkrämer-. He granted five times as many licenses for England.
as his predecessors. And in Constance alone, there were zo canonries with 38 entitlements.

A benefice was regarded as a capital investment, and money was extracted from creditors in every possible way. There were true virtuosos in the hunt for benefices. Rudolf Losse, a nobleman from Eisenach, was capellanus papalis, examinator clericorum pauperum de Alamania, dean of Mainz, provost of Nauinburg, canon of St. Ca- stor and St. Florian in Koblenz and in Eisenach, parish priest of Kit- zingen, chaplain of St. Michael's Chapel in Andernach, altarist of the parish church of Beilstein, royal councillor and official of the Curia of Trier.

However, the popes only handed out appointment bulls and commission documents after the person provided had signed the commitment formula and promised to pay the sum within a certain period of time. The amount of the oblation or, as it was then called, the servitium was also•4 J• one third of the annual income.
coming.

Yet the Church had already forbidden the acquisition of spiritual offices in return for payment in ancient times. And for more than a millennium, it fought against the giving of the sacraments for money. As late as i ci J, Innocent HI, at the Lateran Council of Vienna, ordered that they be administered free of charge, but allowed fees to be demanded afterwards, which had long been the practice anyway. "For", as Lucian of Samosata, the Greek Voltaire, sneered as early as the tenth century, "this is the concept that has been formed of the gods: they do nothing for nothing .... .; everything is for sale to them and has its fixed price.

Was already the stay in Rome or wherever the saint Father did not reside cheaply for the traveling bishops and abbots,

hardly any of them brought the full sums required - -almost always they had to be borrowed or supplemented on the spot, often under humiliating conditions, mostly by Florentines, and the prelates returned from the apostolic see financially dependent on the banking houses" {Davidsohn). But in Rome, nothing worked without money. Yes, as soon as they got there, notes the in many ways pleasingly polemical {and perhaps not coincidentally so unsuccessful in publishing) Norman Anonymous, the bishops had to open their pockets immediately. For, if they do not bribe the papal officials, they have no prospect of achieving their purpose."

In concrete terms, this looked something like this atis. A)s towards the middle of the iz. century, Tournai wanted to become independent of Noyon and have its own overlord, and Tournai's emissary also wanted to visit the Roman Curia.

had already advocated it,*4i Bishop Simon of Noyon appeared in Rome, bribed the curial officials with yoo Mark Silben and Innocent II postponed the decision, which was only his third.

successor, Eugene III, in favor of Tournais.=

As the matter proved lucrative, the circle of those obliged to serve was expanded, the number of the highest posts to be awarded was increased and finally the entire Catholic episcopate of the world was seized; understandably, it was often in debt, some dioceses up to twenty times the annual acceptance. And many a prelate was unable to repay his debts for the rest of his life.

T H E AB SCH ÖP FM ETHO DE Bf T H E B ISCH Ö FE

Of course, each bishop also had his own various bribery methods, such as a special tax immediately after the expensive consecration. Or the quarterns, income from the fourth year's benefice, later distributed equally over each year as a fixed transaction. Or the sums accruing at the sending court, the Bannalia, the Bannpfennige. Or the fines for immoral offenses.

Everyone came into money in some way, otherwise they would hardly have become bishops. One man confesses in the late early Middle Ages: - I was ordained by the archbishop and paid a hundred pieces of gold to win his favor; if I hadn't paid them, I wouldn't be a bishop now. I gave gold and received the episcopate in return. But I will not perish because of it, I will soon have my gold pieces back, because I ordain priests, I ordain deacons, and so the gold that has poured out of my pocket will return there.

Some bishops and priests pocketed money for allowing newlyweds to have sexual intercourse on the first night, thus sparing them the widespread practice of chastity nights. The blessing of the bridal bed was also associated with -signs- which were laid down by customary law or in writing. Bishops and archdeacons also demanded tributes for the marriages of priests' children. And they fleeced their own clergy early on. -Many believers built churches in the dioceses of the bishops out of love for Christ and the martyrs and endowed them with gifts, said 6 33
a Spanish council, -but the bishops take away the gifts
and use them for their own use the consequence is that there is a lack of ministers for these churches since they have lost their means of support, and that the decaying church buildings are not being rebuilt.

There were even overlords who demanded a full third of the clergy's income. In short, the bishops also continually levied fees of all kinds: cathedraticum, synodaticum, syn- odalia, procuratio, subsidium caritativum, hospitium, angariae ...

But it didn't stop there, to mention at least one more episcopal earning opportunity.

The high clergy often regretted the papal practice of granting indulgences, mainly because it reduced their own income. Of course, cardinals and bishops also issued letters of indulgence and collected for them - in the case of smaller indulgences only the tax for issuing them, while the entire proceeds remained with the "gifted" church or institution. For expensive indulgences

However, a portion had to be paid to Rome, whereby there were two regulations regarding the amount of the tax. Either a third, half or even two thirds of the royal revenue had to be paid to the papal chamber. Or a lump sum was paid in by the petitioner before each levy, which bore the pretty name -composition-.

As early as the i th century, both genuine documents and those forged by the clergy promised pilgrims the same graces for visiting certain churches as for a pilgrimage to Rome or Jerusalem. As early as the xxth century, the Spanish Bishop Ermengaud of Urgel (ioxo-xo3 ş), with the approval of the Archbishop of Alien, granted pilgrims to the monastery of St. Peter an indulgence for all sins, provided, of course, that they donated bread, wine, gold, silver or other things. If Bishop Ermengaud had both a sense and a need for gold and silver, his high pastoral office was bought. His uncle, Bishop Salla of Urgel, had already agreed payment with Count Ermengaud of Urgel a decade before his nephew's death and consecration - and just a decade after his death, he was venerated as a saint and the feast of St. Ermengaud was celebrated from xoqą onwards.

Since the i3. century, however, bishops, abbots and even
The clergy granted indulgences in large quantities, even forging them frequently, as if on a conveyor belt, i.e. issuing them in the name of previous popes in order to make certain churches more attractive. For example, passports were forged in favor of the Cathedral of Aquileia, in favor of the Abbey Church of St. Victor in Marseille, the Catholic Church of St. Pierre de Blesle, the Church of St. Peter in Strasbourg, the Church of St. Stephen in Besançon, the Cathedral in Pisa. The Abbey of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, already known to us as a particularly impudent forger (V 3ooff.), produced a whole series of forged abbey documents.

Forged is an ablaSbulle from z8. December i i zz for Ca-
tanzaro, an ablative bull dated x3. February i two for the monastery of St. Jean-du-Mont, an indulgence privilege dated x. May T133 for the monastery of San Salvatore in Brescia, an indulgence for the abbey of KönigSlutter around

the same time. Indulgences were also forged for several churches in Trier, for the monastery of Andechs, for the church of St. Augustine in Orvieto, the church of St. Simplicianus in Milan, St. Mark's church in Viterbo, St. Mark's church in Venice and other churches in this city, the cathedral in Anagni, the cathedral in Vercelli, the cathedral in Paderborn, the cathedral in Schwerin, etc. Such forgeries for the financial benefit of churches happened hundreds of times, and of course they were carried out by priests

However often the indulgence may have been granted in good faith, it was "always" promised to the faithful "only if they gave a mite for the monastery after repentant confession and receiving communion" (Krausen). For like the high clergy, the lower clergy, the monks naturally excluded the laity.

THE NI EDER C LERU S ALSO NEEDED

Almost everything "spiritual" became a business - as it still is today - from births and weddings to deaths and funerals. Certainly, a cleric did not have *to* earn money as a craftsman, as a clown, as a barkeeper or usurer, as a gambling den or brothel operator, out of greed or greed for profit, out of existential fear, did not have to rob their own churches or rob travelers as robbers, not even sparing messengers with mail for the pope. -They mingle," complained a contemporary ecclesiastical critic, "in the theater benches and in the entourages of women; in public banquets and in the dishonorable life with interest and shameful frauds, in love of money, in women's trades and businesses." Many, Pope Honorius III (VII vz y ff.) exclaimed, were more merchants than clerics.

But it was possible, and this is the only point here, to deal with the spiritual, the "holy" itself, with the consecration of entire churches and all the worship in and around them.

Money could be withdrawn for many things, for entering the clergy, the monastery, for selling anointing oil or hosts, for selling one's voice at synods or in court. One could even refuse to attend weddings, funerals or communion until the monetary costs, the nervus rerum, had been paid in advance.

The sale of baptism was forbidden by the Synod of Elvira in the early q. century. In the seventh century, the Synod of Mérida threatened the sale of baptism with a three-month excommunication, although a voluntary gift for baptism was already permitted. And in the 8th century, even Archbishop Chrodegang of Metz, who came from a family of -first Frankish nobility-, also -successor of Boniface- {Oexle), the -supreme ... Bishop of the empire" (W. Hartmann) - and holy to collect the confession money, already called "confessiones", from his canons,[2] -

Perhaps, however, there was more to be gained from another activity of the priests, the reading of Mass, and not in terms of spiritual, liturgical graces - that goes without s a y i n g , I think - but simply financially. For even if the time was still distant - when high mass and wholesale market - merged, as Karl Kraus mocks, -in the unified concept of that 'mass' which meant the opportunity for merchants and mystery swindlers -, an approach to this which should not be underestimated was once created by what historical research emphasizes as the "victory of the idea of the mass" ,
-Masses on feast days, Sundays and holidays, Christmas and Easter masses, masses for stations (processions) and saints, monastery and royal masses, baptism and baptismal masses, masses for the dead and votive masses, masses against cattle plagues, drought and bad authorities, for the peace, health and fertility of women, and once daily masses (missae quotidianae) were found necessary, every day finally had its own special mass" {by Schubert).

And his special salvation. For the clergy as well as for the simple lay soul. For since God's temples were constantly multiplying - in Munich, for example, the number of parish churches grew from a round dozen by 8oo to q 5 by qoo, to•4 * x3oo -, more
Naturally, the altars also increased. And with the altars

the reasons for the masses. And so the clergy now read masses, read them one after the other, read them in different places, on all kinds of occasions of salvation and disaster, read them for the healthy and the sick, the living and the dead, for bridal couples, married couples, pilgrims, etc.'-.

However, like any business, the clerical business also brought rivalry and competition. And so, throughout the late Middle Ages, the parish priests in Strafiburg fought fiercely with the Benedictine monks, the Dominicans and the Franciscans over parish rights, pastoral care, Sunday services, the administration of the sacraments and preaching. They still fought from the pulpits, especially over hearing confessions, but also over burials, as the monks buried parishioners who wished to do so in monastery cemeteries. The parish clergy therefore demanded that the relatives of all those buried in a monk's cemetery pay the
-U1ömum vale", allegedly io to 5o guilders. {Even the early Irish church charged burial fees up to the value of a cow). Some priests had the destitute buried without pity. On the other hand, large sums were allegedly extorted even from the poor and their dead were not buried before the demands were met. Finally, the Strafiburg magistrate iz8S forbade the citizens to receive the sacraments in the Dominican church; indeed, the next year the monks had to leave the city at Pentecost because of -inheritance fraud. -The bitter war lasted until the eve of the renewal of faith" {Pflegen).

It was no different in Italy. There, too, the most beautiful priestly disputes often raged between monasteries and clerics, disputes over churches, tithes, processions and oblations - for example, the secular clergy of Badagio plundered the property of the monks of S. Vic- tor in Milan; the monks of S. Ambrogio stole the offerings from the canons of 5. Ambrogio and robbed the spiritual lords¡ around the middle of the q. century. Around the middle of the q. century, Bishop Helibert of Gomo, Archbishop Guido of Milan, the Bishop of Bologna and others attacked and destroyed male and female monasteries. In the second century, the abbey of Montecas- sino fought against Bishop Landenulf of Lucera for land in Be-

nevent; under Alexander III, the bishop and the canons of Fiesole deprived the Passignano monastery of its possessions and rights in Figline. One could go on like this almost endlessly.

Last but not least, people in the Pope's country were always fighting over the income from deaths. The faithful had to vouch for the burial place, had to guarantee as the buyer or tenant of a plot of land that they would only allow residents to build new houses or be buried here and there. Parish churches competed with monastery churches for customers, and lawsuits were constantly being fought, sometimes even turning into fisticuffs at funerals. In the High Middle Ages, the clergy of the parish church of Poggibonsi attacked the funeral procession of a woman who wanted to await the Last Judgement with the monks of S. Michele; the priests chased the monks away *with* stones¡ in the end, the widower had to drag the dead woman to S. Michele alone. In Figline, the clergy of S. Segnore rushed a funeral procession, broke open the coffin and took the body to their "Gotres house".

However, there were not only fights over corpses, but also over those already buried. The abbot of Montescalari litigated with the parish priest of Cintoja over bones, which he was finally allowed to dig up and transfer to his monastery. The rector of Santa Maria Novella in Florence argued with the prior of San Paolo and insisted on the return of the remains of three men and five women, whereupon his opponent insisted on the restitution of other dead bodies. However, even if achievements and wishes - at all levels - often remained incomplete and unsatisfied, the mechanism of exploitation itself was perfect.

This can hardly be said of the religious provision. The Kle- rus had little interest in this, least of all the high - for the associated tasks were not carried out themselves, only the fees were collected; poorly paid vicars were supposed to do the work {Kolmer):

The popes were relentless in enforcing the Servitium with the strictest ecclesiastical penalties. For example, on$_5$. July z3z8, for unfulfilled obligations, no fewer than 36 arch-

bishops and bishops (including seven German ones) and 6 abbots (including three German ones) with banishment, suspension and interdict. Not even the death of the debtor could save the day - the successor had to step in and pay the outstanding balance: Bishop Ademar of Metz, in addition to his own servitude of 6ooo guilders, had to pay 8ooo guilders for his two predecessors, and died x36i without having paid them; Bishop Friedrich von Hohenlohe (the old warhorse so nobly immortalized in Bamberg Cathedral) still owed the servitude debts of his four predecessors when he took over the see .*i44
more than twice its own debit.'-

The situation was similar with regard to the awarding of higher and lower benefices at the Curia. Alberr Hauck knows of hardly any documents that m a d e more serious accusations against the ecclesiastical administration than the so-called Suppliken. -They provide striking proof that factual considerations were not taken into account in the awarding of ecclesiastical posts at the papal court." John XXII was paid around 3ooo appointments (benefits) in his first year in office alone.

The popes simply confiscated the assets of clerics who left no will (ius spolii, ius exuviarurn). For example, they took the estates of Bishop Gerard of Basel, Archbishop Frederick of Riga, Archbishop William of Gen- nep, Cologne, Archbishop Ortolph of Weisseneck, Salzburg, etc. Finally, Urban V (S, i 3g ff.) reserved for himself the succession of all bishops, abbots, deans, provosts and rectors. This right of spolia or reversion, also known as the "right of repose", reached its zenith at the time of the Avignon papacy.

Related t o the 5ervitia were the annuities, the annual income of an office. Originally gifts from a new benefice holder to the bishop, usually the first year's income (fructus primi anni, annalia), they were then claimed by the pope and also allocated to him, from the•4 century onwards from all benefices.

It was no coincidence that during the exile from Avignon there was a sharp increase in annates, which at that time yielded an extraordinarily high income {Grisar}, as well as an intensification of curial tax policy in the West in general.

The Holy Fathers naturally attached the greatest importance to the collection of their spoils. From the beginning of the 3rd century, they sent or authorized special couriers, collectors, who contacted the Apostolic Chamber fS. zz ff.). They had to record and assess the various objects everywhere and skim off the more or less abundant sources. Since they visited many countries, were also diplomatically active, in short -sniffed into all circumstances- (Grupp), it is quite conceivable that the nunciatures developed from their area of business, which also dealt with "all circumstances", not least always with money.

At the head of the "nuntii et collectores", from which their meaning is clear, was usually an archbishop or bishop as general collector, who was assisted by collectors, usually also bishops, and then sub-collectors, mainly the actual collectors but almost always also clerics in higher ranks, sometimes assisted by even more subordinate commissioners. The money collected was sealed in sacks and chests in the sacristies of churches and monasteries, and the fishing expeditions of Christ's disciples, who usually traveled with expensive, large entourages and escorts, were rewarded accordingly. We know of one collector that Pope John XXII granted him three gold florins a day as a salary, another received a year's income from a vacant benefice, another recommended himself to the favorable consideration of his master - and became bishop of Münster.

Collecting the money was anything but problem-free and there were complaints after complaints. Benefice holders did not provide any information about the income from their posts. Other benefices and entire churches refused to pay the taxes; -on other occasions, the secular lord of the place seized the income and

the collector did not dare to take action against him; sometimes it was wars and feuds, sometimes unfavorable weather, which had partly destroyed the income ... If the holder of a taxable benefice could not pay immediately, or if he was not immediately obliged to do so because of a lawsuit for its possession, a payment obligation (obligatio) was recorded by notarial act, and he had to provide a sufficient guarantee (Kirsch).

Not only did people not like to pay to collect, they also swindled. And isn't one swindle worth another? In a collection from the diocese of Würzburg - delivered by weight - there were almost a modest ry pounds of counterfeit money among 5¢o pounds of Heller.

Resistance to the treasurers was frequent, and not least some bishops resisted. Censures, punishments, trials, excommunications and interdicts were then used. It was no wonder that the papal bailiffs always traveled under heavy cover. Nevertheless, several were attacked, plundered, others held captive, or even the messengers and representatives of the collectors were beaten up, robbed, threatened with drowning, occasionally they traveled through the country in disguise or disappeared altogether.

In some places, renitence was general.

Around the middle of the 4th century, a collector in the Trier church province resigned his office out of fear of death. A second had h i s hand cut off, a third was hanged, in 1368 a collector in Münsterland was also killed, a canon of Dülmen, a year earlier in Franconia the general collector Bertrand de Macello and his assistants were imprisoned, in Würzburg two messengers of the papal collector Johannes Guilaberti were seized in the cathedral and liquidated in the Main. Two of John XXII's main collectors had already been attacked on the Rhine and completely robbed. Above all, it was the "persistent and ruthless demand for money" (Handbuch der Kirchenge-

Let's skip over the other rules of curial money-grubbing, such as administrative fees, chancery fees, bull taxes (obventio-

nes or emolurnentum bullae}, letters of grace, visitation fees, trial fees, intercalary fruits {fructus mcdii), reservations, expectorations, the often so questionable entitlements to vacant benefices, furthermore interest, recognition interest, subsidies, dispensations from irregularities, such as close kinship, illegitimate birth, fines; fines, forging and bribery fees, all conceivable special levies - "anyone who did not pay was quickly ex-communicated" {Kolmer).

Instead, let us at least turn our attention to the Kreutzug-tithes, which were particularly common in the ig. Century were frequent.

As is well known, crusade tithes were not only used to finance the wars against the Saracens, but also against Christians, for example against the Hohenstaufen or to reconquer the Papal States. Often they were completely misappropriated to suit the taste of the popes, such as the one under Gregory X, a zealous crusader {VII 349 .), decided on a six-year crusade tithe. The crusade never materialized, but the pope awarded part of the money to Philip of France - just as the French kings received most of these tithes, and without having to account for their consumption if there was no crossing - and he granted Rudolf of Habsburg a few marks of it for his journey to Rome (VII349 flg.

Popes John XXI and Nicholas III acted accordingly. tion. Martin IV invested crusade funds in his battle for Sicily and the conquest of Aragon. In the conflict with England, Clement VI granted France not only loans, tithes and subsidies, but also crusade funds - in very high amounts in each case (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte). The covetous princes were also involved in crusade taxes, whereupon they *of* course (ab bove majori ...) followed the bad example of the Curia and used these funds for other purposes, regardless of their crusade promises" {Seppelt). Finally, Boniface VIII had already demanded a tithe simply for the needs of the Roman Church. Clement V demanded a six-year crusade tithe, and although nothing came of the crusade, John XXII wrote out new crusade tithes. But when no more crusades took place

dekamen, tithes were collected for the fight against the Turks and for other needs.

• UBS ERE VO RGÄN G ER VERSTAx Dxx xs N ICHF, Pn PST Z U SE I N ^

The enormous treasure accumulated by Clement's predecessor, John XXII (l< 476 ff.), was used up in just a few years. And this despite the fact that the pope reduced expenditure by reorganizing the apparatus, expanding curial fiscalism (with additional
This was due in particular to the enormous increase in the system of commissions and extracts, reservations, papal appointments associated with payments, against which the reform cilia of the i yth century turned. Century turn against. The archiepiscopal sees in Germany alone were filled six and three times during the exile on the Rhone, including the diocese of Bamberg ten times;

x3q4 His new bishop still had stands for four predecessors to be paid.

Clement's chamber, the highest papal financial authority, honorably named -camera apostolica- - although the apostles were supposed to preach the gospel for free, -no gold, no silver, no copper money - (Mt. z o, xo; Mk. 6,8; Lk. q,3:• .4J. lang ist'S her -, Clement's chamber Passed already at his inauguration the benefits settled or otherwise reserved at the Curia to two years, and Clemens repeated this regularly.

In England - nowhere, says Ranke, had the popes "had greater influence, dealt more arbitrarily with the benefices" - the practice of this confiscation of money already led toi43 -t2f outrage. Alone the sums for the acquisition of vacant benefices, the Parliament on the Thames, exceeded the King's income by five times as much! In response to reproaches, Clemens explained: "Predecessors

nostri nesciverunt esse papa - (Our predecessors did not know how to be pope). Well roared, lion.'-

Like so many popes, he constantly condemned things that he himself did - both in terms of sex and financially. i 3 9 He expressed deep disgust to Bishop Arnest of Prague at the many minors in his diocese who had been given church benefits by force or money. Only a short time before, however, the same pope in France had granted five children from the same family - eleven, ten, nine, eight and seven years old - permission to take over canonries and other benefices. However, as he had evidently been financially ignored in Bohemia, he now ordered Bishop Arnest to dismiss the minors, to swing them, to come to an agreement with the papal chamber regarding all income and, after they had been sufficiently exempted, to reinstate them in their offices.*°

Of course, there were other methods of acquisition.

In remembrance of the great blessing of the flnftO 1 300 vOf1 OfllfAZ VIII, whereby the priests collected the money day and night with rakes (VII 3s7). Clement now also allowed such a special year.

only ever take off at the turn of the century, but as early as ann -7- january x34 3 the Pope proclaimed in the bull "Unigenitus - for x 3§o a new

-Jubilee" with rich indulgences with reference to Moses.

And yet Rome did not even catch the pilgrims; no wonder. Instead of two million people in pagan times, it was now inhabited by -7 oOo, at most zo ooo. The streets were devastated, the palaces ruined, everywhere spires of civil war.

even in St. Peter's the sheep grazed. Petrarch, who saw it again - for the fifth time - in the fall of Z3 jO, describes how the city, ruined, impoverished, after a thousand years of papal rule, still only a place of bet- historical rubble, looked in the -jubilee year'-.

-The houses fall down, the walls fall, the temples fall, the sanctuaries fall, the laws are trampled underfoot. The Lateran lies on the ground, and the mother of all churches is open to the wind and the rain without a roof. The holy tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul are shaking, and what the temple of the

apostle, is a shapeless heap of rubble, even stony
Moving the heart to compassion."

But all this did a s little harm to the festive pomp as the plague {VII q35 f.), which rather made the church, like every human misfortune, even richer, since quite a few of those infected left behind their possessions and goods f o r fear of hell. Thus St. Ger- main l'Auxerrois in Paris, Rä£Jl7 made inheritances in the previous years.
the eight years, now49 rbschaften in nine months alone. And
In the fall of ii4 , Siena suspended its donations to ecclesiastical organizations for two years because they had become so immensely rich and truly fat through bequests.

In Lübeck, the Christians i3s7 laid down their treasures on the altar ruins. They also threw their money over the wall to the fearfully enclosing religions. In Augsburg in the i q. Century so much for altars, bells, masses that the Senate had to intervene in favor of the rightful heirs. According to Jakob Twinger von Königshofen, the ecclesiastical chronicler of Strasbourg, t h e churches there became so rich that the old churches w e r e demolished and new churches were built."

Incidentally, the clergy at that time and still in the i8th century when the plague was rampant in Marseille. In the 17th century, when the plague was rampant in Marseille, the clergy naturally passed it off as a divine punishment, as a result of the utmost annoyance caused by theater, opera, luxury clothing, and the beaked shoes that had become en vogue, especially in France {called cranes in Germany).

God's deputy, however, comforted the dying followers with participation, forgave far-reaching indulgences and, i n particular, granted -complete remission of their sins- to those who had fallen into the grass on the journey to the Roman jubilee celebration in 35o, even commanding the angels to carry -their souls immediately to paradise ... - And this in days when people joked: God does not want the sinner to die, but to live and pay ...

Nevertheless, Holiness herself did not hurry to Rome, despite all the treasures of grace on offer there. Nor did she show her face anywhere along the way, apparently not at all keen on the flight of

angels and the delights of paradise. Not even in the county of Venaissin, otherwise

The savage huntsman was not even sighted in Avignon: thousands of houses were now boarded up, four hundred dead, it is said, every day. Nine cardinals also died, including Petrarch's powerful patron Giovanni Colonna
died; his lover Laura also died on the morning of April 6, i 3d 8 - if, as Bocaccio doubts, she ever lived. However, the Inquisition did not rest even at the time of the Black Death. In the year of the plague 134 , not far from Avignon, the arch-
Bishop of Embrun, de Sarrats, twelve Waldensians before the cathedral.
drale.

But Clement VI, while the plague ravaged the papal city for seven months, sat in a spesial chamber, a kind of high-priestly isolation ward, hermetically shielded from all the world, fortified by great fires all around, protected by a miraculous emerald: held towards noon, it weakened the power of the poison, held towards morning, the danger of infection - Lord, what wonderful trust in God!

Meanwhile, the new streams of salvation and money continued to flow, encouraged just in time by Clement's doctrine of the "infinitus thesau- rus ecclesie - {-34*). . And mufite one first
to Rome t o the Basilicas of the Princes of the Apostles to see all the
the Holy Father now graciously allowed the inhabitants of Mallorca to win the Jubilee indulgence at home - against payment of 3o ooo guilders to him.

The matter set a precedent.

The next merciful year no longer took place after fifty, but after forty years under Boniface IX, who needed a lot of money, not least for his wars. Then the in
The intervals were even shorter, 33 years and, seir Paul 1*47 , all z5 years. Finally, competing pilgrimage centers (Montma- jour, Lyon, Canterbury, Santiago de Compostela) also offered holy years. And in general, forged abla8ons, at times Roman churches, were soon springing up all over the place (VII 397)-'*

MARS I LIUS OF CAD UA - " N O N E
SCHL1M ME RE R KzTZE R" -
AND Too vos KAI SER AND DA PST

Clemens VI, already an intimate of the French king as Benedictine monk Pierre Roger - "Grande amicó e protettapre del re Fiĺippo" (Villani) - and at the same time tutor of the Bohemian Prince Charles, the future emperor, had also long been a staunch opponent of Louis IV of Bavaria.

In particular, however, the pope bitterly fought against his literary com- petitors, especially Marsilius of Padua, the former rector of the University of Paris, the Athens of Europe, with more t h a n five hundred lecturers at the time. Less than a year after he took office, Clemens wrote in a speech on io. Apriĺ - 343:

-We dare to say that we have never seen a worse
Marsilius, who in his -Deferisor Pacis- fought for the sovereignty of the state (VII
¢q3 f.), accused the popes of being instigators of godless wars, in which the faithful die with -hate and malice in their hearts-. - I want to expose the lies of these bishops," he cried. -Do you not see the unholy rape that all the Rthymian bishops are practicing with their shadows of clergymen and cardinals, who have only one goal, to sow the lies of their magic books?"

Thus Clemens resumed the fight of his predecessorJ anns XXII. against the Bavarian 1 4 7), a lifelong religious prince whom he had cursed every Sunday in the churches. He continued to deal with him, but only for the sake of time.
and demanded his renunciation of the imperial dignity within three months in the bull "Prolixa retro" on April i3 q3. And after rueful sham negotiations with the Wittelsbach, who had accommodated and submitted to him - he "revoked everything he had previously decreed as emperor" (WetzerfWelte), but was not prepared to diminish the rights of the empire - he struck the final blow against him on Green Thursday -i46.

He now condemned Ludwig once and for all, calling him a "heretic", -Antichrist", solemnly declared him excommunicated, deposed,

declared him to be without honor or rights, and his sons and grandchildren to be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical or secular office. And since Clemens had long intended his former pupil and childhood friend Charles as the new ruler, who had also made him promise after promise in Avignon - more than any of his predecessors, since Charles had affirmed the papal right of confirmation in particular and had also sworn to guarantee the status of the Papal States - the Pope now demanded his election from the electors, which also took place on

- J "J' *34 at Rhens with a majority of five votes. However, with his new opposing king and his not great chances for the time being, Clemens started a new civil war in Kant, which was only prevented by Louis lV's sudden death {VII 5oo f.). -

And five years later, the Pope also died.

Shortly before, he had spoken to his prelates once again when they urged him to dissolve the Berrelords. And if he did, he said, "what can you preach to the people? Humility? You are pride itself, puffed up, pompous, wasteful. Poverty? You are so greedy that all the riches in the world could not satisfy you. Chastity? Let us be silent about that, for God knows what each of you does and how many of you satisfy your lust.

Gewifi, an eloquent pontiff. But how do you think the moral tongues of someone who was so adept at all the things he did to his clergy, who was himself lavish, himself greedy, himself lustful as only a horny bull can be?

And in the same way, his support for the people who had been killed by the

Jews slaughtered especially far from Christians (VII q 3§ ff.!).

In the year i34 he took their side in several decrees, which honored him (cf.< 44 ff.!), he had forbidden their forced baptism, their robbery and killing without trial, also disapproved of the massacres as -terrible things- and condemned the abomination-

fairy tale about sic -no plausibility at all. What good did it do! Christians of far greater renown had been stirring up Jewish hysteria since antiquity. And should we listen to this shepherd of all people? As early as January '349, the entire Jewish community of Ba-

The entire Jewish community of Strafibufg (< 437!) was burned alive in February, the Jews of Antwerp and Brussels were exterminated in the same year, etc.--.

Clemens Vl. died after a short illness in December Z) 5z and was buried in La Chaise-Dien {a name truly fitting for him). He also rested, **in accordance with** his lifestyle, at4‹ Mar-
and thus, albeit secluded, but exclusive, the
eternal rest until i y6z. Then the Huguenots demolished all the splendor and burned Clemens' last remains.

z. CHAPTER

INNOCENCE VI (i 3 z-i 36z) AND THE BEGINNING OF THE HUNDRED-YEAR WAR (*XS - *4SJ)

-The crusade was also the ultimate goal of the serious and frornful Pope Innocent VI, who for this reason stubbornly tried to impose harsh measures between France and the Engtand to make peace." Barbara Tuchman'

-It has been more than a thousand years hey since these territories and cities were given to the priests, and since t h a t time the bloodiest wars have been waged on their behalf, and yet the priests do not possess them in peace today, nor will they ever be able to possess them in peace. Truly, it would be better in the eyes of God
and the **world** if these shepherds were to completely renounce temporal rule (dominium teniporale): for since the time of Silvester, female rule has resulted in countless wars and the destruction of peoples and states. How is it possible that a good **pope** has appeared **to** put an end to such abuses?
and that so many wars have been waged for the sake of these ephemeral possessions?
Giovanni de' Mussi
Chronicle of Piacenza, c. i3 yo-

Innocent VI, the fifth pope in Avignon (which he surrounded with a fortress wall), again came from Limousin. He was a law professor and judge in Toulouse, i33 bishop of Noyon, r3do of Clermont and, since i3qz, cardinal through his predecessor and compatriot Clement VI. He continued his nepotism, made three relatives bishops and four cardinals, and favored the Limousin in general.

St. Bridget of Sweden, mistress of the Queen's court, mother of eight sons and already haunted by visions as a child (of the Madonna, the Crucified, satanic monsters, which she chased away with a crucifix), was living in Rome at the time of the papal election and greeted them enthusiastically. However, since Innocent was oppressing the Knights of St. John, and even worse the Franciscan spirituals, several of whom he sent to dungeons, to the stake, and even had burned in Avignon, the ardor of the recipient of seven hundred revelations as the "bride and mouthpiece of God" cooled, and she now saw Innocent as a persecutor of the lambs of Christ.

9while the reform efforts of the new pope are sometimes unduly emphasized, exaggerated, little attention is paid to his -Heretic" hunt. And yet, distinguished by a strong sense of justice and great conscientiousness (Seppelt), he had everything persecuted that could be persecuted at the time, including the Flagellanders, the Amalricans, the followers of the well-versed

Parisian Dialck-

tiker Amalrich von Bena, who was burned for the first time in the Middle Ages, the Beghards, also called Lollarden by contemporaries, the Cellites, matemans who wanted to live according to the evangelical commandments; furthermore the fraticelles, the Franciscan spirituals, who had already been observed earlier and who proselytized far and wide, but whom the popes widely regarded as

-send messengers of Satan- hunted; so Clement VI. *344" ch İn rm8- nia, in PlfSia, so ii7s Gregory XI, in Egypt, Syria and Asia.-

Bercits at the beginning of his reign Innocent ran two in Montpellier brought arrested Tuscan fraticelli before him and sent them to the fire because they unabashedly confessed their "heresy" that the popes were not leaders of the true church. Shortly before, some Fraticelli had also been burned in Avignon. And the **pope** imprisoned others for years with the usual consequences {vgÍ. VII z6i If.).

In Germany, Innocent appointed the friar Johann Schade- land as Inquisitor, ordered the authorities to hand over their dungeons to the Inquisition and the bishops to "support the Inquisitor in every way".

He also urged against the heretics in England in 3 Jş, and later in Spain, where he authorized the Provençal inquisitor Bernhard du Puy to enforce the help of the secular authorities everywhere. He also instructed the kings of Aragon and Castile to give Bernard every assistance, and even in the Crimea he incited Bishop Conrad of Caffa against missiological fraternities and ordered their suppression using the inquisition procedure {Lea).

The disempowerment of political opponents through their heresy was always popular.

For example, when the Manfredi of Faenza, a northern Italian family perhaps of Germanic origin, opposed the papal territorial policy in Romagna, Innocent excommunicated them first. And as the Manfredi did not crawl to their knees, the pope declared them disobedient on to. Octobe8• 354 as disobedient

-heretics- forfeited all their goods and honors, left the Patriar-

of Grado preached the cross against sic and also incited the Hungarian King Louis 1 -the Great- to fight for a three-

yearly tithes from his national church to destroy the - sons of perdition. The pious prince, who had already made a name for himself with his revenge against Joanna, Queen of Naples (p. i6 f.), shocked the country again when he now subdued the Manfredi with forty thousand Hungarians. In I§O5, their most important scion Astorgio was beheaded by order of the cardinal legate Baldassare Cossa and the dynasty was replaced a century later by Cesare Borgia, Alexander's
VI. son, finally disempowered'.

KA R DI NA LLB O RNO Z - THE GENIUS OF HIS HOLINESS

Innocent VI. -The reconquest of the Papal States, which had already been created freely by war (and fraud) {IV i 3rd chapter! and others). However, this was not done by himself, but by the Castilian grandee Aegidius or Gil d'Albornoz, the second founder of the Italian empire, celebrated by Gregorovius as "the most ingenious statesman" ever to be f o u n d in the "College of Cardinals".

Born in Cuenca around 1300, this relative of the Castilian kings probably grew up at the court of Zaragoza under the tutelage of his uncle, Archbishop Jimeno de Luna, and then his cousin, Bishop Pedro López de Luna. On the death of his uncle, he succeeded him in the See of Toledo and as Chancellor of Castile. As ambassador to King Alphonso XI. Albornoz gained diplomatic experience in Avignon; legal experience in the drafting of the municipal charter of Alcalá and the collections of laws of Toledo and Seville; and military experience as papal legate in the crusade against the Moors {the Merinids, a Berber dynasty of great intellectual and cultural merit) both at the end of October 1340 at the Battle of Tarifa on the Salado, where his personal bravery is said to have secured victory, and at‌i 4‹ during the capture of Algeciras.*

On June 3o, i 353, Innocent appointed deu 5panier as his governor. in Italy and to the vicar for the badly torn church

state, in the south dominated more by the landed nobility, in the north mainly by strengthened cities. The legate was to reorganize the territories that had slipped from papal control¡
a war campaign that swallowed up enormous sums of money, an annual average of 40 percent of the papal budget, and forced Innocent to sell off parts of his treasury in November i 3 y8,
In short, a pacification that brought the Pope's finances to the brink of ruin" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

With great powers and a small army, Innocent sent his cardinal into the war. Equipped with negotiating skills and -Albornoz won back the already almost lost Papal States through "brilliant campaigns" (Kelly) and the construction of numerous strongholds, - bases for the suppression of local insurrections - and the establishment of the "outstanding military talents" (Cardinal Hergenröther).
{Handbook of Church History), by subjugating the lords there.

For example, there were the prefects of Vico.

In the i zth century, the Roman prefect's office, the dignity of Praefecrus Urbis, which had long been held by various clans, had become hereditary in this family. Gradually, they expanded their dominion of Vico, a now vanished town on the lake of the same name north of Rome, by purchase and robbery and built or acquired a large number of castles in Tuscia romana. In the ig. In the 16th century, the prefects of Vico also became signors in Viterbo {by fratricide - 33), in Orvieto and opponents of the church, until Cardinal AlbornOZ Z354
the mighty John of Vico with ten thousand Romans and
defeated the troops of Florence, Siena and Perugia after considerable losses.'°

The central Italian house of Montefeltro was also anti-papal, at least the main line, which was traditionally loyal to the emperor. Under the wing of the Hohenstaufen dynasty and as the latter's warrior force became increasingly strong, Guido da Montefeltro, a highly capable condottiere, fought the pope, who was expanding in Romagna, as early as the late i 3rd century and defeated his "bloody" allies at Form on i May i z8z. May i z8z at Form his "bloody

Hanfen- {Dante). But then, driven into a corner, exiled, excom-mtinized, he crawled to the cross at the end of his life, even becoming a Franciscan (VII 360, 3go).

From Forlí, a center of exiled Ghibellines, Dante's place of refuge, the Ordelaffi also opposed the clerical regiment, most decisively Francesco II, a sworn enemy of the clergy, enormously popular with his subjects, and in Roma- gna the most powerful opponent of the Spanish cardinal, who called on all of Italy to crusade against him."

And with the OrdelaSi, the Milanese Visconti, an ancient family probably dating back to Carolingian times and bearing the viper in their coat of arms, resisted the Pope. In the late Middle Ages, they were related to the top of the European aristocracy through an ingenious marriage policy and, according to Gregorovius, were richer than all the princes of Europe.

Main opponent of the Curia: Bcrnabó Visconti (*3*3*I §ÜJ}. Originally destined for a career in the church, the nephew of an equally warlike prince of the church waged war against the church again and again. But after he had b o r n e seventeen children to his wife Regina delÍa Scala and built her the church of S. Maria della Scala, his nephew and son-in-law Gian Galeazzo Viscoriti, the first Duke of Mayland, finally imprisoned him, and Bernabõ died either from the consequences of his death or from poison, from which his brother Matteo II had already died - probably at the hands of his brother ..." {Vaglienti)."

Gegeri Bernabõ Visconti had given Cardinal Albornoz his dangerous

He had to fight the most difficult battles, and Cola di Rienzo was soon sent to support the legate. From humble origins, the son of a tavern keeper and a laundress, he rose to become a notary and was also admired by Petrarch as a result of his extensive education.

-3541 cii the strangest events of the century.J

Thanks to his stirring speeches, di Rienzo - today known as a demagogue, fantasist, psychopath and tyrant - became the mouthpiece of Rome's wealthy bourgeois class, the so-called cavalerotti. As a tribune of the people, he resisted suffering.

In the face of the brutality of the barons, in whose place he wanted to establish a -good regime-, the beginning of a community guided by divine justice. Many high nobles of the Sndt paid for the fight against him with their lives, including several Colonna.

Beyond Rome, however, the tribune strove for Italia una, the national unification of the entire country under Roman leadership. His striking utopia combined the local with the imperial and Christian idea of Rome, and he expected the emperor to purify the church. Charles IV, however, accepted him after his *announcement* in Prague
*3f and two years later handed him over to Clement VI, who repeatedly demanded his surrender. However, Innocent's successor wanted to win Rome with the help of the tribune; a terrible miscalculation.

As required, Rienzo, personally pious and thoroughly church-minded, was ordained a Knight of the Holy Spirit, appointed a Familiar of the Pope, promoted by the Pope's vicar in Rome, Bishop Raimund of Orvieto, in short, promoted by the Church and proclaimed a reformer. His official title: - Candidatus Spiritus Sancti miles Nicolaus severus et clemens, liberator Urbis, zelator Italiae, amator orbis et Tribunus Augustus". However, the celebrated man was also excommunicated, suspected of being a "heretic", declared deprived of all offices and dignities, elevated to senator again by Albornoz, but again abandoned and, after a new tribunate of just nine weeks, disguised in vain, in October i pferi s4
of a lynch mob; his body was perforated "like a sieve",
dragged through Rome, with the head abrifi, and finally ver-
burns.'-

It was not only all the quarrels and crusades in Italy that prevented the Pope from achieving his ultimate goal (S. i. Motro), the Holy War in the Orient and the unconditional subjugation of the Greek Church, but also the conflict between the two largest European kingdoms. Bloody grotesque enough: since the Western Christians hardly ever took the cross to the East, they have been beating each other's heads more and more frequently and comprehensively at home

This was also evident during Innocent's pontificate.

T H E H U N D E R T Y E A R I CE CR I E G (I § 3 Ë-I§§§3)

This catastrophe, -Guerre de Cent ans-, a label probably dating from the - 9th century, broke out as a result of a territorial problem, after repeated confiscations of English
French possessions by the French Crown, I*94th - 3-4 and 337-

However, there was also a weighty dynastic war grudge:
the French succession dispute. After the extinction of the main line of the Capetians i_5 z8, the crown fell to the Valois line. However, the English king Edward III (- 3*7** 37s) laid claim to the throne.
since i a i 7 and especially since 134 äls grandson (through his¢ mother Isa-
bella) King Philip IV of France to the French throne from Philip VI of Valois { i3 a8-iy yo), grandson of King Philip III of France through his father Charles of Valois. However, Edward treated the Va- lois - as Duke of Aquitaine, this beautiful but eternally contested land, one of the main theaters of the war, dependent on France by feud - as a usurper. And until i 8oa, the kings of England formally held the French royal title.

The greatest conflict in late medieval Western Europe, a war that no one realized had lasted so long, began with a series of triumphs for those who were to lose it; began with
because the English fleet victory at Sluis ann -4- JUflt 1340. their land victory at Crécy ann a6. August i 3q6 and the spectacular capture of Calais on 3 Aug13*- *347- inanced the bloody prelude by loans from the English king to Florcntin banks, which he, unable to pay, drove to ruin.

After the destruction of the enemy fleet in the naval battle of Sluis, it was said that the fish had so much French blood that they would have spoken French if God had given them the power of speech. Of two hundred French shields, only about thirty escaped. From then on, the dominance of the English at sea was assured.

At Crécy in Picardy, near Calais, where some of the cannons that were emerging at the time were already being fired without much effect.

Slaughter thundered, slaughtered into the night. The British, who had already b e e n far worse than robbers after their landing, who had dragged away carpets and jewels, cattle, men and women and mercilessly burned the villages, now ignored even the
-The French, who despised the murder of the enemy, placed all their hopes in the heavy cavalry.

The English, on the other hand, operated with their easily maneuverable foot fighters, above all with the famous archers of the time, who could safely shoot up to i z arrows per minute at zoo meters with longbows, which were still much more efficient than cannons. Under this hail of arrows, the Genoese crossbowmen of the French are said to have fled in panic, whereupon King Philip VI ordered them to strike at the fugitives, which undoubtedly complicated the battle. Daxu, the dexterous Welsh knifemen dodged between the knights who had fallen to the ground and used their long blades to finish off those who were often lying motionless under their horses. Four thousand stabbed Frenchmen covered the battlefield, including the king's brother and other prominent figures, the Duke of Lorraine, the King of Majorca, the blind King John of Bohemia, while his son Charles, the elected Roman king and future emperor, had escaped in time.

And the citizens of Calais - the town had been a
A kind of pirate nest, living more from capturing English ships than from trade - already multiplying mice, rats, excrement, until they surrendered after eleven months, whereupon Calais, an important bridgehead, remained with England for two centuries, until i y 58.'-.

ERB FO LGEKRI Ec IN DxBRETAG NE

Campaigns, feuds, small raids with the usual plundering, rape, destruction, the scorched earth policy, all this devastated the country terribly.

For example, the War of Succession in Brittany that flared up at the beginning of the 1940s, which itself shook the region for almost four decades with its subsequent conflicts. Because Brittany was a French crown fiefdom, i.e. subject to the sovereignty of the King of France, it became intertwined with the Hundred Years' War. Although only a few major battles were fought here, the fighting was merciless, with unending battles, cavalry battles and sieges, burning towns, agricultural areas being bled dry, and continued pillaging. To a certain extent, every war had to finance itself through robbery and ransom. In addition, however, there was the exploitation of the population, who feared the collection of war funds more than the war damage.

The country was divided into a French-speaking part and a Celtic part - Bretagne Bretonnarite - and the main opponents fought over the throne of Duke John III, who had died without a legitimate heir .*34•

On the one side, supported by the English King Edward III, stood the half-brother of the deceased, John, Count of Montfort; and after his capture and death, his wife Joan of Flanders fought bravely, doggedly, cunningly, even in naval battles for her son John IV, until, maddened, kept and forgotten, she lived for three more years at Tickhill Castle in England.

On the other side was Charles of Blois, the French aspirant to the dukedom, a nephew of Philip VI, who was strongly supported by the French king. Charles had married Jeanne de Penthievre, a niece of the deceased duke, and was a particularly good Catholic, which is why he died on the battlefield and was beatified. According to Barbara Tuchman, the authoritative historian, he was even canonized, although Pope Gregory XI d i d not accept his sainthood and - at the instigation of the younger John of Montfort - revoked it.'*

The initiation of a canonization process began just a few years after Charlemagne's death. His cult, especially through

Franciscans fueled, flourished, for finally the Blois stood,
-Father of a Bastard", had already spent his entire life in the halo of holiness. He lived in clothes full of lice, scourged himself bloody with rawhair and pebbles, made barefoot pilgrimages to relics through snow and ice, confessed his sins night after night, slept on straw in front of his {crippled) wife's bed.

If the Blessed also lacked "outstanding abilities", he was a "majestic, chivalrous and pious prince" (Leguay), who despised this world, but who, after nine years of captivity, was ransomed for an immense ransom of
7 OOOO guilders; who also managed to transport the heads of thirty prisoners of war over the city walls of Nantes with his slingers. Yes, he crowned,

pious and blessed, his victorious siege of Quimper by slaughtering two thousand inhabitants of all ages and sexes. But then he himself was defeated and fell in the Battle of Auray in 364, after which the House of Montfort took power. The time was violent, savage, and the hierarchs of Christendom had sanctioned the cruelty, not once, but a g a i n and again. "The torture," writes Barbara Tuchman,
-It was authorized by the church and was regularly used by the Inquisition to uncover heresies. The civil judiciary punished those found guilty with punishments such as chopping off hands and cutting off ears, and had their victims starved, burned, skinned and torn to pieces. It was a common sight to see criminals scourged, stretched and hanged on the shingle. You saw severed heads and quartered bodies displayed on poles above the city wall. In every church there were pictures of saints who had suffered various horrific martyrdoms - by arrows, spears, fire, thorns - everything was drenched in blood. Blood and cruelty were an omnipresent element of Christian art, even a central one, for Christ became the Savior and the saints holy only because they had suffered violence at the hands of their fellow men.""

Di x Sc H LACHT YOx PO **ITIERS**

The extent to which piety and killing went hand in hand in the Christian West is also demonstrated by a battle of the Hundred Years' War that took place during the pontificate of Innocent VI, the Battle of Poitiers on i q. September i 356.

Certainly Cardinal Hie de Talleyrand - once apparently involved in the murder of Andrew of Hungary QS. ii) and endowed with no less than 3 i benefices lincluding seven archdeaconries} - and his entourage hurried on mules from army to army to mediate a truce on behalf of his master. The cardinal legate and other papal envoys had been trying to do this since the beginning of the year, as lnnozenz urgently wished to settle the conflict between England and France in order to be able to wage war in the East.

This was because the lords were now waging a crusade against each other and, as good Christians, they led it with God on both sides. Even the day before the slaughter, one of the worst of this war, they had spent not only preparing for battle, but also attending a church service, an honorable custom before all major Christian detours. Only a few years earlier, - 35 -. before the famous meeting "combai des trente- in Brittany, the knights likewise became a
The bodies were gathered together and lay so close together on the battlefield that some were only discovered days later.

King John II of France (Z 3§h 364), who at that time ruled over the strongest French army of the century, was eager for bloodshed. **For** although he was later called -le Bon {which, of course, only concerned his extravagance), His Majesty, despite his modest intelligence, was at times somewhat erratic, irascible, brutal, and anything but a friend of due process of law, as his very first act of government shows. He had the Count of Eu and Count of Guines, a man universally loved and admired, beheaded without trial on mere suspicion. And on y. April

x 3 6 leading Normandy nobles in Rouen, and he was so anxious that this should not be done either with a court order or at the designated place and gallows. Suddenly, on the way there, J--n le Bon ordered them to stop and behead the prisoners. A hastily summoned makeshift executioner needed six blows to cut off the head of John of Hartcourt, after which he and the other heads were displayed on lances for two years.

Six lashes, my goodness, if you consider what still sometimes happens at executions in the land of human rights today, the six lashes from John the Good's substitute executor are not a s bad as you think. There are other things that s e e m highly modern under this king. For example, his tax rates for t h e very year of the Battle of Poitiers: four percent tax on the income of the rich, five percent tax on the middle class and ten percent on the lowest taxable income.'-

The ruler's mental mixture of greed and revenge and demonstrative piety has not yet been extinguished, either on this side or the other side of the great sea. And Jean le Bon had already inherited her from his Murter, the lame queen, who, despite her good works, was called a cruel mistress, for whoever she held was dead without mercy. And her son, the king, also mixed war with religion in his own way, or in other words, his domestic power with a bit of metaphysics. He founded the Order of the Star for the honor of God and our Lady, for the exaltation of the Ritrerschah and the increase of fame", whereby the Lady was even emblazoned on the Order's banner, which was covered with stems.

And now, before the battle began, King John shouted to his warriors: -You have cursed the English . ... and wanted to cross your swords with theirs. There they stand before you! Remember the injustice they inflicted on you and take revenge for the losses and suffering they inflicted on France! I promise you, we will fight with them, and God be with us!

And on the other front, Edward of Wales raised his voice, the "Black Prince- {which probably referred to the color of his armor), King Edward III's eldest, now twenty-five years old.

re son and heir to the throne, one of the most famous knightly figures of the era, inspiring the chroniclers, -The Flower of Knighthood- . Although without any particular political or diplomatic talent, he was courageous, cultivated, an outstanding general, a patron of the arts and highly deserving of the dynasty.

Above all, of course, through raids and devastating campaigns, activities that spread nothing but terror, pure terrorism, apart from the fact that they weakened the enemy. Only in the fall of the previous year, between Bordeaux and Narbonne, in the beautiful stretch of land between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, he had waged a two-month long war of loot and destruction, day after day of bloodbaths such as had never been suffered there before, and this by the noblest, so to speak, the -flower of the knightly shah-, the ornament of the Order of the Garter, which in turn was under the patronage of St. George.

Even now, in the late summer•* *35ö, the Black Prince was on a foray, a "chévauchéez", into the north. However, as his army, laden with booty, was greatly outnumbered by the French army, which had been following him for days and was still completely unspent, he wanted to avoid a battle at all costs until it was simply impossible and he called out to the assembled nobility: "Gentlemen, look to me! With God's grace, think of the attack! Forward in the name of God and St. George!""

Many thousands perished, including allci• -4z6 nobles. Everything else was not counted, and it didn't count; certainly not the horses, into whose unarmored hulls the English longbowmen shot their arrows as ordered, whereupon the collapsing animals buried their riders beneath them or trampled them to death. (In medieval Christendom, animals were only used for work, for torture or for bloody pleasure; for example, by running over a nailed cat, writhing in panic and struggling to defend itself, with its bare head until it was dead. Or running the gauntlet over a pig until it collapsed in a disembodied state amidst the laughter of onlookers).

When the arrows were shot at Poitiers, whole battalions fled, others fought with 5treitaxe and sword, with

short lances, knives, fought man against man. -Some whose bellies had been slit open stepped on their own intestines, others spat out their knocked-out teeth, some who were still standing had their arms cut off. The dying rolled in the blood of others, those who were held groaned, and the proud spirits who left their bodies sighed terribly.

King John surrendered and months later ended up in England with the Black Prince, where he spent three and a half years in Windsor - with lots of dice games, hunting and court parties."

There is no doubt that the king was a lot better off in captivity than his subjects on the other side of the sea in "freedom". This is especially true of the peasants, who were not only the most maltreated creatures at the time, but also captive -chains- and animals

- and usually more than qo percent of the total population. But "the people" lived anonymously, died anonymously, received neither permanent burial plots nor entries in the Book of the Dead.*

CHAPTER 3

CHRISTIAN PEASANT MISERY AND MONASTIC HAPPINESS

• Cewsli, blackmail, pressure, ideological and religious coercion and social hardship played a major role i n t h e development of feudalism, as did opprtsiones, combined with the use of state and ecclesiastical means of power.

At the same time, the economic-social attraction of landlordism and lordship was fully effective - Eckhard MülleeMertens'

-Even the most basic necessities of life were pre¥cious: the low crop yields, the unbalanced diet - the skelene of early medieval cemeteries

The poor clothing, the unhealthy living conditions, the lack of hygiene, the complete absence of medical care. The result *was* a crying need:

Hunger and cold, impoverishment and debt, and too often physical damage such as blindness, deafness, gout, paralysis, incurable wounds and unadmitted mental illnesses. The loss of house and farm or of parents or spouses was always a cause for concern.

also the loss of freedom or expulsion and banishment. With one stroke of the pen, the basic life principles could be lost ... An army of downtrodden people whose lives could only be accurately

The medieval world was populated by what can be described as vegetics: iibelriochend, unsightly, covered in ulcers, born of infirmity and, of necessity, pushy. Many of the greats, even bishops, occasionally kept the crowds of beggars a t bay with dogs.

A. Angenendt-

The ecclesiastical feudal lords **used** special methods to persuade p e a s a n t s in economic distress to hand over their property to the church.
They proceeded not so much by force but rather by trickery and deceit, promising the tenants eternal seJigkeic, threatening those who disagreed with hell, forging documents and deceiving t h e superstitious peasants with allegedly miraculous relics of saints,
which they brought specially from Italy and \6'estfrsnken lie here."
L. Siern/H. J. ßarmiuss'

It is one of the great grotesqueries of our history that from the basis of feudal society, the opus servile, the petty lower class, which endures everything, bears and endures everything, which prays throughout the Middle Ages -a bello, peste et fame libtra nos, Domine-, that one knows the least about the vast majority of the unfree and semi-free, that one learns the least, that historians write about them from century to century as if they did not exist. Everything lives from her, the whole drama of history runs only through her and about her, but she herself plays virtually no role in it. As early as94s , the important
Historian Heinrich Dannenbauer on the basics of the Middle
world: -The deeds and misdeeds of this secular-spiritual aristocracy make up the history of those centuries; the chroniclers of that time fill the pages of their books with them. There is nothing to avoid from other people. The people in the countryside are for the most part dependent, unfree in various degrees. They had to obey, work and pay taxes. T h e y have nothing to say. Basically, they have no history.

'- O EI D N **ICHT TRAURI** G -
W E ARE ALL BR Ü D ER IN CH R ISTO "

The early medieval world adopted the traditional late Roman administrative structure, in particular the late antique economic system in all essentials, slavery as well as the colony, the cultivation methods as well as the lifestyle. And when the

Roman Empire collapsed, the Christian Church, already the largest landowner in this empire in the y. The Christian Church, already the largest landowner in this empire in the y th century, continued its agrarian capitalism, the despotism of the Caesars, and the old mechanisms of human subjugation in even greater dimensions. Although there was still a free peasantry, and although the workers on the huge estates of the landowning aristocracy were legally free, they were in fact serfs. The large landed estates also absorbed the previously free villages, their livelihoods were ruined, any improvement in social conditions was prevented and dependence became insurmountable.

The sixteenth century is the century at the beginning of which the pastor Augustine comforts the slaves with the divine will of their life and presents their masters with the benefits they derive from this pastoral care. It is the century at the end of which Rome -"We have reached a social and economic level," says Walter Ullmann, "which is hardly different from chaos."

And at the end of the sixth century, none other than Pope Gregory I, saint, Doctor of the Church and "the Great", fought against the principle of equality in the social world. The lord of gigantic estates - estimated to be 4soO to Sooo square kilometers in size {officially called "Gurder Armen" for decades, a term often used by Gregory in his letters)-, this holy pope knows many good, conscientious empires, but also knows of
many poor poor people, and here again meets well with Augustus, who once apostrophizes a poor man: -Look at the rich man standing next to you. Perhaps he has a lot of money with him, but no greed in him, while you, who have no money, have a lot of greed in you - and on the other hand consistently allows the noble Proba, heiress to a huge estate acquired by robbery and obtained with ruthless selfishness, to remain as naturally as ever in the midst of her wealth; only inwardly she should free herself from it and become aware of the transience of all human things! Both Augustine and Gregory consider wealth to be a good and firmly advocate the inequality of people and estates.

By nature, as Gregory explains, all men are equal, but a "mysterious providence" has created differences in the way we live1 7- ch., esp. i 83 ff.).

This is how every church light thought and wrote from then on. From nature

all equal. And also before God. Although there are also differences in the hereafter, better and worse places, just like in this world. This consolation runs through the history of salvation. Archbishop, saint and Doctor of the Church Isidore of Seville, the great hater of Jews, therefore not only justifies the Jewish pogroms {VII do6 f.), but also the - indeed already acclaimed by the Doctor of the Church Ambrose

- Slavery: necessary to tame the bad dispositions of some people through "-terror" {!).

The Council of Aachen (8i 6), which teaches that God imposed the -servi- tus" in order to curb the unbridledness of the -servi" by the authority of the masters, is just as clearly linked to St. Isidore as the doctrine of the estates of Bishop Bur- chard of WOfiTlS {p. /3) in the i i th century: -Because of the sin of the first man, the punishment of servanthood has been imposed on the human race by divine providence, so that [Gort] in great mercy imposes servanthood on those for whom, as he sees, freedom is not suitable. And although original sin has been taken away from all believers through grace in baptism, the righteous God has so differentiated the lives of men by making some servants and others masters, so that the possibility of f r e e d o m for the servants would be limited by the power of the masters.

As if the masters had not always committed incomparably more and more violent crimes! Nevertheless, even the early Christian theologians resolutely rejected any -equalization-, they considered - women, slaves or barbarians to be people of a lower order" (Dassmann). They therefore betrayed the "love communism" of the apostles, the social traditions of ancient Christianity. Ergo, once rich themselves, t h e y also took the side of the rich. Ergo, the Ca- tholica, which in the early Middle Ages had more land than the nobility and needed whole armies of slaves to cultivate its estates, a d v o c a t e d the abolition of slavery, which Paul had already defended, the

church and the people.

teacher Ambrose calls a "gift of God". Thus, since the early Christian social uprisings in Africa, Spain and Gaul, the Church has sided with the oppressed in all teachings of the oppressed - often with naked violence, perhaps even more often with acid-sweet sayings, not to say cynicism, for example in the manner of Bishop Rather of Verona, who apostrophized slaves {servi) around 935: "Do not be sad - we are all brothers in Christ.

Eixx REcHTsxnTuR wiTh VIEH

When, in the 5th and 6th centuries, Clovis, this 5tarbandit of world history, founded the Frankish empire (lV z. Kap.!), when he overran France with his troops, first to the Seine, then to the Loire, then to the Garonne, a new feudal state was created with the help of Catholicism. The owners of small estates, the free peasants, the peasant warriors shrank away, were gradually excluded from co-determination, from active military and judicial service and the coloni of fugitive lords were enslaved.

From7. to the g. From the eighteenth century onwards, small farmers and farms increasingly disappeared in the face of the large manorial estates. The social structure changes profoundly, the urban culture breaks down.

trade declines and a purely agrarian, colonial and slave economy emerges. Only land ownership now meant wealth. The nobility and clergy share the land and have the sole monopoly on it, impoverishment is almost universal, and the free Germanic peasant from the early medieval feudal society is soon widely displaced. There are, roughly speaking, only two classes: Lords and servants. The people are declassed, are dependent, they sit as mancipia, servi, coloni casati in the poor villages of huge territories, in the courts of feudalism, above them a so-called nobleman who harasses and coerces them from his castle, above them larger lordly families, and finally above all the princes, the kings, from Lake Zurich to Saxony, in England, in France, in Spain, in the state and in society, the

Aristocracy sets the tone, other people have nothing to say. They have the innate prerogative to advise the king, they claim the bishop's chairs of the country by virtue of their birth and even the old rich monasteries are intended for their members, they own the land and the people of the country. This is the Ge-
the state and society throughout Europe up to the Fran-
zösische Revolution- (Dannenbauerl.

Only those who have land are free. Only he who has much land is powerful, lord of thousands of serfs. He who has nothing enters into a relationship of subalternity to a secular, a spiritual lord, to the possessor. He becomes subject to him, in bondage, a serf (which does not overlap conceptually, but factually). In the 8th century, personal servitude is already commonplace. And the more the ecclesiastical and secular landed property grows on the one hand, the more the enslaved peasantry becomes on the other.

A farmer is normally a serf. Almost the entire rural population and thus the people in general is largely serfdom, even if there are still differences within the lowest classes. And while the number of actual slaves may gradually decrease, while slavery may end with the socio-economic mutations at the transition to the High Middle Ages, i.e. merge into bondage or servitude, the number of dependents continues to grow, not least due to freemen who, usually more nolens ats volens, take over the
"Seeking the protection of the landlords".

However, the peasant, the peasant in the legal sense, no longer existed in the early Middle Ages. With the reception of Roman law, the progressive feudalization and the overgrowth of forced farming by the nobility and clergy, the small free peasantry in Europe was largely destroyed and absorbed by the secular and ecclesiastical domains - even if, to a very limited extent, peasant property still existed for a long time.

The peasant (agricola, rusticus) first appeared in the High Middle Ages. However, this peasant is usually not free, but bound by a landlord's process {colonus, cen- sualis), is a bonded servant and taxpayer, a villein, who

With the progress of Christian civilization, it was even made into a body's own {servus) again, which could be inherited, sold, exchanged, pledged, given away, - legally almost equal to cattle (David's son). Thus, at the Synod of Mainz root, the Bishop of Würzburg received - i yo farms with just as many families of serfs" for the cession of a part of his diocese through the great royal villainy of Henry the Saint (VI 6y ff.!). "There can be *no* question of a general tendency on the part of the Church to abolish the status of the servi or to ease their conditions of existence, since the Church itself had the largest number of servi - (Hägermann).

In the i th century, there was a new class of free peasants in Europe who were freed from certain burdens and restrictions, but by the end of the Middle Ages they had all but disappeared again. Cases of more or less voluntary enslavement during the early and high Middle Ages are also not uncommon. For example, a tithing woman from Altusried, who was previously considered free, complains: -When my husband died, they led me and my child to prison, my son like a thief on a rope, and left the house open. Then I had to sign a contract with my children: If I or my children should stray, everything shall be forfeited to the house of God". And as late as the i th century, a free peasant family in Arijou offered two of their children, whom they could not feed, as slaves to the monastery of Saint Florent in Saumur. {French-speaking medieval historians, like the ancient historians, speak of "slaves", while German-speaking historians speak of "servants" or "unfree").

The rural population was largely impoverished in the High Middle Ages and chronically undernourished throughout the Middle Ages, despite all the agricultural vicissitudes, certain phases of expansion and regression - with an average age of just over thirty years; the kings of the same period lived to be almost fifty on average (some popes almost ninety years old). The human masses are trapped in a mink of - banishment fees -, of blood-sucking services and levies. They live in wooden huts, in earth huts together with the cattle, live on the edge of the physical world.

(lberleben, lives from time to time on tree bark and becomes more and more impoverished. With the onset of late middle age, she sinks into a general serfdom.

The land-owning proletariat, however, the lower class lent to their owners, unquestionably formed by far the largest part of the people and was fraternally referred to everywhere by the beautiful name "fami- lia". At that time, however, the word did not refer to the cohabitation of parents and children, as in modern times, which was then called "house", but to the entirety of the unfree belonging to a lord under a common lordship and regularly summoned to court. One then spoke of the familia of a nobilis, the familia episcopi or abbatis. Or one simply replaced "familia" with "mancipia".

The celebrated canonist Bishop Burchard I of Worms (d. iozy), also an unscrupulous forger {V zz), called the hears of his cathedral church (with manorial possessions in Worms, in the Neckar region, Odenwald, around Heidelberg, Weilburg) familia sancti Petri and r e v e a l s in a court law (Lex familiae Wormatien- sis ecclesiae) that at the lowest level of the episcopal familia are the -mancipia-, unfree people who are to be treated like a thing. The most detailed paragraph of this court law does not concern the Christian love of neighbor and enemy, but rather, tellingly, murder and manslaughter, "which occur, as it were, daily within the community of St. Peter in the manner of wild beasts, whereby in a single year 3y landowners are killed. {servants) had been killed without guilt by landowners of the same church - familia sancti Petri.

Incidentally, the Englishman hit the mark when he said "those who pray, those who fight and those who work". Of course, the voices that blame the poor themselves for their poverty and declare - we know these tones too - that anyone can become rich if they put their mind to it. Nor is anyone poor who knows how to make do with what he has. Others see only lazy people in the poor, people who shirk work, who eat up everything they earn, drink it all away, the meek, the envious, the greedy, the blasphemers, etc.

Medieval Europe was built entirely on the peasantry, the opus servile, the servant front. At least qo percent of its population, a few exceptions aside, lived in the countryside, even in the late Middle Ages more than three quarters, and almost all of these people were subject to a manorial lordship {villicatio, domina- tio, seigneurieJ, that is, most of them were bound physically and by landlordship, were more or less enslaved. They are not only pau- peres, but dediticii, inquilini, at the lowest level: mancipia (servi, ancillae). They were originally considered a thing, without rights; a status acquired by birth (according to the status of the mother or the poorer hand) or by purchase, by robbery, trade, debt b o n d a g e , imprisonment or self-slavery.

In land donation deeds, these wretched people, such as gele-
In Carinthia, the slave was usually called "common with cattle" (Fresacher). But in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, too, slaves had the same legal status as cattle or movable property.

The homines proprü, the "Eigenleute", belonged - with their "body and goods" - to their masters, were without any property o r assets, without freedom of movement and their own will, were indefinitely subject to service. And some German medievalists in the last decades of the so. century even denied the existence of a free peasantry in the early Middle Ages in principle. It is true that in the course of time, the unfree were able to break through the barriers of their dependence, which had previously been almost impossible to surpass, that the unfree could be set free and that many a servant and servant's son could even reach the high ranks of state service; but this chance was extremely small.

Certainly, the status relations also changed depending on the shah, feudal law, Sachsenspiegel, Schwabenspiegel etc.; but they also changed for the worse. After all, the freedmen, subordinate to the freemen in the social structure, were in some r e s p e c t s on a p a r w i t h the slaves. And even if a distinction has to be made between ancient or Carolingian servi and late-Mirrel Age serfs, even if the latter changed their fate as a result of the long transition from serfdom to - rentier landlord-ship - the latter had to be treated differently.

- T h e peasants in the East Elbe regions were subjugated by a second physical trait in modern times. In Prussia, King Frederick William I partially enforced it, and Frederick II -*773 in an extended form, finally
The general land law I7s¢ abolished this in its entirety,
However, this is by no means the end of all lack of freedom. But where it is abolished in the Middle Ages, it is not for humane but for economic reasons.

^JAGQ U ES B ONHO hlM E BON DOS, I L SOU FFRh TOUT *

As a rule, the landed slave, especially the most maltreated unfree {mancipia, servus), was exploited to the hilt by his temporal and spiritual despots. They demanded servitude, which only declined in the later Middle Ages and was then often replaced by levies, which had of course already been demanded earlier, which is why the peasant had to pay considerably more - perhaps a third or even half - than his own needs.

Gewifi, the nobility, clergy and townspeople also worked for the princes.

services, such as military travel, court travel and tax revenue. However, these services were highly regarded and *oh were* associated with privileges - even if it should be emphasized that in the i 3rd and• 4- centuries in German-
country there were several hundred violent riots.

The unfree peasant, however, had to cope with an extraordinary abundance and variety of obligations year in, year out, for which he generally received only a minimum of compensation and was despised to boot. Jacques Bonhomme ä bon dos, il souffre tout "¡ in German: -The farmer is like an ox, except that he has no ears.

It's almost dizzying to look at the multitude of abbreviations, indeed just their main forms, which Werner Rösener lists in the Lexi

The burdens were certainly less catalog-like and of course not all peasants were burdened with all demands. This depended in particular on the legal status of the servants and the position of power of the landlord.

Nevertheless, the following are found for the transfer of land: a ground rent (census) in the form of a monetary and in-kind levy. A recognition interest (Fastnachtshuhn, Herbsthuhn, Martinszins etc., also called Herdgeld, Rauchhuhn or Wurstiins). Furthermore, payable on taking possession of the estate, the entry fee, entry fee, profit fee or transfer fee {laudemium, honorarium}.

A head rent (census capitalis) was levied as a fee for personal bondage, but a marriage levy (maritagium) was often only levied on women. However, the serf was only given a wife from another manor with the permission of his lord. The heaviest tax, the right of death (mortuarium) in the event of the death of a serf, also known as the mortuary case or case for short, was counted as part of the life rent: usually the best piece of livestock (Besthaupt, Hauptfall) or the best dress (Bestkteid, Gewandfall); sometimes also **clothing** and cloth - incidentally, at least in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, a servitude also payable by non-serfs.

The relevant obligations also included tithes (p. 8y ff.}, a payment in kind to the church; tithes to laypeople were forbidden - laypeople were only supposed to pay, to pay in order to pacify God's wrath, as the Synod of Tours teaches, justifying its demand with the example of Abraham. The large tithe included grain and wine, the small or green tithe included garden fruits, but also, at least here and there, flax, haiif, turnips, beans, hops and others.

Blood tithes were collected from animals, wool, milk and lambs. There was little that was not wanted, if only because God was owed his share of everything - and even Archbishop Caesarius of Arles, a saint and not by chance a specialist in
-Landsee1sorge" (IV 3O), asks: -Is it too much for God to ask for a tenth? - And continues, -He could ask for nine tenths

he will give. He often sends misery and misfortune, he takes away the nine parts because you would not give a tenth.

Yes, they know how to deal with the stupid. And was that enough In the case of livestock, the farmer was expected to pay a tithe for each animal, whether it was a colt, calf, pig, goose, lamb or kid. A tithe of fish and squirrel skins was also to be paid" (Nylander) - even bees were sometimes included. (The Frankenbachers' explanation that the Imme was a free bird [!] did not save them from being handed over to their pastor).

Other important services were the bailiwick and court fees and, from the iz. The most important services were also the bailiwick and court fees and, from the iz. century, taxation by the lord of the manor (petitio, exactio, Bede, tax, treasure, etc.).

There were also other charges. The farmers also had to pay money for the use of the forest, grazing fees and interest on wood. And for the redemption of crowns, service money, cartage money, plowing money. However, in the high Middle Ages in the diocese of Salzburg, if a peasant who had been fined had neither money nor property, a guardian (a custodian in a wide variety of matters, varying according to time and region) was allowed to ravish the wife of the delinquent peasant. If the nurse was not attracted to the woman, he was allowed to leave her dishonor to the court clerk, and if he did not like it either, he could charge her to the bailiff.

To give at least a pars pro toto idea of the duties of these land slaves, here are a few examples. First, a compilation from the domain of the Bamberg Cathedral Abbey in the ia. Its possessions extended from the Rhine to Austria, a far greater extent than had long been assumed. The unfree had to deliver from twelve different places in the surrounding area to the Bamberg cathedral canons on feast days and feasts of the apostles: 6y fattened pigs, 58 runner pigs, io6 piglets, i 8 sheep, io4 5 hens, i zöo7 Eggs, §69d cheese, as well as various quantities of milk, wine, beer, ge-

cereals etc.

In the late q. century, the former Benedictine Abbey of Prüm {Rhineland-Palatinate) received zooo from its tenants every year. Century from its vassals annually zooo

Quintals of grain, 1800 pigs and piglets, dooo chickens,

• •• •*. 4OOo buckets of wine, iyoo gold solids and i8 ooo silver denarii, etc. The unfree also had to pay

They had to help on the farm for about 3 y days, had to do transportation services, errands and forestry work in winter.

The Benedictine monastery of Blaubeurrn, which never had more than one or two dozen monks, and at times no monks at all in the*4 century, had a monastery in the early i6th century. Century (onier the in the monastery

The estate buildings and commercial enterprises, such as mills, bakeries and a dairy) i6 churches and qs7 farms and received the following in the years" *477 and ii34. according to the accounts: Ryo or 4i S chickens, 888 or q63 roosters, * 777 or' * *43 eggs, as well as hundreds of cheese, oil, beans, wax, pepper geese

and capons, wine from hundreds of acres of vineyards, further7 z8y or7 dzo Imi fruits, finally also z3 x8 Pfd. (about g9o Gul- den) bZW. • 5 7 Pfd. money. In addition, there was the entire tithe.

Depending on the form and development of the lack of freedom, such as the

ia. The types, extent and duration of the Fronhofwirtschah (servitia, opera servilia, marioperae, carroperae) that existed in the early Middle Ages varied greatly from one era, territory, lordship and agrarian constitution to another. However, without being able or willing to systematize here, three main forms of serfdom were identified for the early Middle Ages: For the serf, who was always subject to the jurisdiction of the lord of the manor, the daily servitium, the hardest, which had to be performed for an unlimited period of time and was not fixed in terms of content.

For those who are not fully bonded and are criminally ofr state

The peasants, who were subject to force and also had to pay taxes, mostly in Natu- ralia, had to pay a weekly tribute, initially on three days and only in the i a. century on two days or one day. century, on two days or on one day. Finally, there were those services called noctes, mainly due in spring and autumn, which could take between two and ten weeks. This {not fully serf-owning} farmhand earned very little or nothing {pirenne) and could earn his

Hufe Hof) could not be farmed according to his ideas; his younger children had to become day laborers or vagrants.

Frequently, especially in the inner Franconian region, was the so-called corvada, a daily service to be performed several times a year during plowing time. In addition to the regular farm work, there was also construction assistance, road, bridge and castle building, wood felling, wood hauling, roofing, fence weaving, fertilizing, harrowing, harvesting and threshing.

During a peasant uprising in France, the serfs brought
The following complaints were made: -On St. John's Day we have to mow the fields and drive the hen into the barn, then mend the ditches. In August the great feast begins, the grain harvest, and we have to pay the tithe from some of the fields. In September we have to pay interest on the pigs: out of eight pigs the Lord takes the two best, and for the others we have to pay one penny each. On St. Dionys a new interest follows, then one for the right to fence the fields. At the beginning of winter we have to c u l t i v a t e the manor land, on St. Andrew's Day we have to pay for a kitchen ga& " Chickens are due at Christmas, and so it goes on. At Easter we have to deliver hammel, and the felling is followed by the sowing front. -'°

In addition to the right to kill, the lord of the manor, especially if he was in possession of judicial power, was entitled to almost everything over his serfs. He could not only impose work and burdens on them at will, he could not only beat them at will, force them into servitude or sell them. He could also take half or two-thirds of their acquisitions, even the full inheritance according to the "dead hand" (main-morte) - an expression that supposedly comes from the fact that the landlord was given the dead man's descendants along with his severed hand. All these hands were then - what an exquisite taste of the time! - were nailed to the tower walls together with bear paws and other animal trophies.

The woman, abominably degraded by the clergy throughout the entire history of salvation (documented in detail in my sexual history), without the image of God, according to Augustine, an abuse of nature.

tur, -a failed male" (mas occasionatus}, according to Thomas Aquinas, the unfree woman is partly used in the grueling work processes of the man, partly in her own areas of activity.

Married at an early age and usually already burdened by many children who, however, often died early out of necessity, due to hygiene deficits, like herself, she was not only responsible for housekeeping, but also for spinning, weaving, baking bread, making butter and cheese, brewing beer, feeding cattle, mowing grain, at least as long as it was done with a sickle and not yet, as since the late Middle Ages, with a scythe.

The unfree wife, like the free wife, enjoyed a lower legal status than the man. She was subject to his authority, his right to chastise. After all, the whipping of the wife, the spanking of every Catholic wife, was canonically forbidden to her husband by the Cor- pus Juris Canonici, the code of the Roman Catholic C h u r c h - to ig i 8! (Likewise, in passing, her fasting, binding and confinement."

In the early Middle Ages, Christian women and girls even worked in their own houses, in gyiiäceen. Situated close to the farms, they were engaged in spinning and weaving, cloth production and almost every kind of work, from washing to grinding grain, from shearing sheep to cleaning stables. Flogging was commonplace. According to the "Lex Salica", written down by monks in the 6th century and of particularly lasting effect among the collections of tribal law, the blows for an -ancil- la- varied between i zo and zwo.

In his "lwein", written around izoz, Hartmann von Aue, the first of the three great epic poets of the Hohenstaufen period, denounces the exploitation of these women workers, whom he laments: - From our earnings they (se. the lords) have become rich, and we live on the driftigsre.- The poet claims that the women get from

a pound (>4 -nnige}, which their employer sells on the market for their products, four pennies.

The Christian Catholic gynecologies, which are also run by the monasteries (in

Staffelsee, for example) and churches, and in the High Middle

For centuries, however, they also served their owners and their guests as a harem, a private brothel and were the forerunners of the barrack brothel system.

HuxG ERS N ÖTE: MEN KILLED AND I x SxLZ CE LEGT

In addition to the continued exploitation, fleecing and constant oppression by the ruling class - including, of course, the bishops, the "fathers of the poor", who occasionally set packs of dogs on the beggars, especially in times of need - there was the misery caused by natural disasters; by storms, floods, mice, epidemics, worm infestations, droughts, harsh winters¡ again and again also by famines caused by all this, and especially in the -greatest- periods of history, under Charlemagne (who already had the clothing of the enslaved peasants), whereby' 7 4 a third of the population of Gaul and Germania died off, the poor fed on ferns, grass and their own kind, brothers ate their brothers, mothers their children - "Some fetched the starving *the* into the house, killed them and put them in Sä lx ... - {II 49°)-

As always, all natural disasters hit the poor first and usually alone. The ruling, very narrow aristocratic-clerical class was hardly affected, at least directly. They ruled and commanded. The great masses, however, merely had to endure, to live in want, to suffer, and only had to hold out their backs, on which history, the commanding pack, could act out, entirely according to their whim and greed. Did they at least protect the people? They protected them in their own interests, out of naked selfishness. And they trembled, trembled before the -protectors as if they were enemies. The -protectors - were its enemies. The people were hungry and they were afraid. Fear: almost -a basic experience of peasant existence" (Rösener J, a basic experience of most medieval people.

7s 3, the Lorsch annals report the death of many from starvation, the Annales Mosellani report man-eating. 8oy, 8oö, 8oy and 8oq new famines occur - in the year 8o6 ofknbar triggered by Charlemagne's army and its supplies. The Carolingian chronicler and abbot of St. Riquier, Nithard, is able to describe the same thing. Charles the Great" left "the whole of Europe" in peace and prosperity. Indeed, later generations regarded his era as a golden age. In fact, however, between
7 3 tlfld 8j 3, that is, under his and his son's reign, the annals and capitularies from decade to decade, sometimes from year to year, extended famines - but the mas-
do not count.

In reality, the need, especially in the twenties of the
9th century, almost indescribable in the Frankish Empire. A great death among humans and animals went around, there were unheard of Expansions. And bishops themselves complained -9 to Louis the Pious about secular and spiritual usurers, whose machinations caused countless people to starve and many to emigrate. But
All this quickly receded into the background "before the question of the inviolability of their good- (Sommerlad, cf. p. 8q ff., q3 ff.).

The misery of the masses means even less to the clergy than to the state - and miraculously benefits them because the piety of those beaten by fate is always growing. Even in 868, when there was a terrible shortage of food in the Frankish Empire, people slaughtered and ate not only dogs but also people, as is credibly attested. In the x x. century, a mob of hungry people took the mounts of Archbishop Poppo of Trier and his companions from under their rumps as they rode to church and tore them apart, devouring them in front of everyone."

• *97* ome there is a food shortage in Anjou, *io99* also outside. i i i za a famine begins in Portugal, i i z4 in France, also in Germany, i i a6 in Flanders, where again many die. Merchants from southern France bring in enormous quantities of grain by ship. In Bruges, the knight

Lambert van Straet, a brother of the provost of St. Donatus, and his son not only bought this grain, but also all the tithes of surrounding donors and monasteries at low prices: - Their storekeepers," writes monk Sigebert von Gembloux, one of the great medieval chroniclers, author of the famous -World Chronicle- (Chronica universalis) and a brilliant partisan of the emperor in the investiture dispute, -their storehouses were filled with all kinds of grain; but they sold it so expensively that the poor could not buy any of it.

The chivalrous gangsters would have drawn on an illustrious role model.

to the Holy Father Pope Sabinian, who in 6o5, during a famine in Rome, cold-bloodedly let all the believers in Christ begging him starve and perish, only to then sell his grain at exorbitant prices {IV 335)

Of course, many hoped to achieve more in this way.

money. Raoul of Wanneville, for example, Bishop of Lisieux and Chancellor of the British Empire, in view of the

The scourge of hunger from r•s4 That is why Peter of Blois, himself richly endowed, spoke to his conscience in a letter: "Thousands of poor people have already died of hunger and need, and you have not yet laid your charitable hand on a single one ... The harvest spoils

already in the fields and you, you have not yet comforted a single poor person. You have indeed opened your storehouses, but not to alleviate the misery of the afflicted, but to sell dearly .... ."'°

Thus the poorest were always the earliest victims of a social order of which Müller-Mertens says that it "destroyed the original freedom and made the exploitation of man by man the prevailing social principle, that it bought economic and cultural advancement "through a fundamental ethical and moral loss of substance in human relationships.

The poorest became the first victims of speculative purchases, scandalous price increases, usury, false mafias, robbery and war with its widespread destruction of the enemy's fields and resources. Desperate people sold their property and

their freedom. Others emigrated, fled into the forests, became • Robbers", "bandits", movements, reactions that at times took on great proportions, depopulating village after village, desolating the land, occupying more than zy chapters in the capitularies of the Frankish empire up to the year43 , while at the same time the The army is lagging behind, desertion is on the increase, events that Charlemagne's repeated calls for peace and care, for the support of the starving, sufficiently explain this. Or should a man who waged war almost year after year, almost fifty campaigns, who calmly walked over thousands and thousands of dying people and corpses (IV 492 f.) have felt s o r r y ? D i d he not call for peace - as the popes did when they drove to the great crossroads?

Earl was a Christian and hardened like all these nobles, about whom Rhabanus Maurus, Abbot in Fulda and Archbishop of Mainz, complains that many cared more for their dogs than for their servants, that their dogs were well fed and fattened, while their peasants were starving, their servants were hungry and starving. F. Curschmann, researcher of the famine between the 8th and 3rd centuries, comes to the following conclusion. century, comes to the conclusion: -We don't hear that 8 hardship ever touched an emperor, a marquis or a bishop in any way ... - '- No. We hear something else, the opposite. Not least from bishops, abbots, from a church that continued feudalism krah its earthly goodness, its never-ceasing lust for power.

has supported, promoted, glorified and practiced itself.

RE I CHTU A B i sciiO r SK I RC HEN

The wealth of the -church of the poor" began, still relatively modestly, already in the earliest centuries (III ch. 5) and grew considerably since the first Christian emperor (I zz4 f. Z3§ ff.). Probably the greatest role, in terms of property, was played during the decline of imperial power, Roman in general and Byzantine in central Italy, by the emergence of the

so-called Patrionum Sancti Petri, from land grants, primarily from the rulers and through private bequests. However, there were also purchases and, in many cases, illegal and extortionate acquisitions" {Finley).

Almost nothing is known about the initial growth of the patrimony, the main source of income for the papacy, whose estates stretched from Gaul across the whole of Italy to Africa. However, in Sicily alone, the granary of Rome, the Roman bishop's possessions in the 6th century, around boo estates
{massae), presumably those of the emperor there. The tenants, however, the peasants, coloni, not only had to bind themselves with "multiple special charges (for example, spacing sums on the marriage of a son or a daughter) and incessant attempts to pay out" (Finley), but were also expected to pay rent and taxes in gold. In fact, the popes in the early Middle Ages moved 35o pounds of gold from their Sicilian domains alone. And on
For the mainland, they expropriated entire estates illegally and in such a way that the Franks had to intervene, interfere with the administration and abolish the independence of the Papal States.

Thus, in 8 i 5, w h e n Pope Leo IU, a saint {his feast: recently canceled!), condemned hundreds of people to death after a conspiracy, a peasant riot broke out. The newly built papal estates were plundered and burned down, but when the rebels marched to Rome to reclaim their property from the Pope, they were intercepted by the Frankish Duke of Spoleto.

The wealth of the Frankish church also became ever greater.

Already under the Merovingians, when the princes who had invaded Gaul robbed all the land of the imperial treasury (IV a. ch.!), clerical land ownership rose sharply, and even more so in the following epoch - the fruit of bloody wars, royal gifts and the displacement of their own free peasants from land and soil, with which the prelates also made their relatives happy. According to the Catholic theo-

The lords Kober, who had more land and immunities than the secular aristocracy, already had around a third of the entire Franconian territory in their hands at the beginning of the 8th century. The state already saw its military power at risk, and so Charles Martel, grandfather of Charles I, took back all sorts of things and lived on as the church robber who had died in the afterlife. In reality, his seizure was not a secularization, not an expropriation of the expropriators, but rather a kind of forced loan. For while the state handed over church land to its followers for their use, the jus ad rem of the church remained recognized, even if St. Boniface, apostle of the Germans, insulted anyone who proceeded in this way - emperors, kings, officials - as raging wolves in the sheepfold of Christ, as robbers and murderers.

Meanwhile, Boniface himself sought to increase the possessions of his monasteries, for example Fulda, where Hausmeier Karlmann and several nobles generously p r o v i d e d him with land, he himself sought to expand the estates further and further and then - tactic of the church, the popes to this day - lamented the poor life of his protégés! Even under his successor Lul, however, Ful- das's poor monks were so rich that the Bishop of Mainz seized the monastery's money and bought properties in Wormsgau and Truhtmaresheim. It is estimated that he already owned one-sixth of all the land in Mainz, the
"Navel of the German nation", and St. Martin, patron saint of the cathedral, repeatedly reappeared there as a documented landowner.

In the middle of the 8th century, the clergy regained their property de jure in full, de facto in part. There was a large-scale repayment of state debts, a restitution of church property at the - Ger- manic Council" *74s. but also in the next year, at the
royal estate of Lestinnes in Hainaut, -on the advice of the Die-
Because of the imminent wars and persecutions of our neighboring peoples, the Church decided to "withhold a portion of the Church's assets for some time to aid our army, with God's forbearance". In return, however, the church collected the annual tribute of one

GoldsolidtlS {I Z denarii) for each court. And all property was to revert to them after the death of the grantee. The state reserved the right to lend the property to others if necessary. However, the Klerus had an immediate claim to it in the event of his own emergency.

In addition, Pippin III, perhaps as compensation, created the Kir-
In the west, clerical circles first demanded ten p e r c e n t of every harvest {decima, dezem, dime, tithe), a tax that from then on directly linked all land to the church. However, the clergy not only received ten percent of every harvest, but also of every merchant's or haiid worker's earnings. In the i 3rd century, a general tithe from the entire church yielded around 300 OOO pounds, three times the income of the French crown.

TIMES Ux D D o rrE L- TIMES FOR D EN A RM EN C LE RUS

The tithe was a payment made to the clergy from the gross profit of each farm in addition to the other taxes paid by the farmer, an object of value that soon became independent through purchase, lease, enfeoffment, donation and pledging, and which is hardly missing from any medieval collection of documents.

In the first four centuries, the church generally did not demand a tithe. It was originally a voluntary offering, and was already widespread among both Jews and pagans. Among Christians, it was demanded above all by Jerome and especially by Augustine, to whom the clergy often referred when insisting on the commandment to tithe.

In the Merovingian period, tithes were first mentioned at the Council of Tours in 567 and, very significantly, at the Synod of Macon in 85, anyone who refused to pay them was threatened with perpetual excommunication, which later synods, in Pavia, in Valence
and others. As late as I3xz, the Synod of Valladolid, through the mouth of the papal xardinal legate William of Go-

din and -with the consent of the holy council" the exclusion of the faithful "who defraud pastors and prelates in regard to the tithe of blood and nobility". The Synod of Toledo (-3 ^3) admonishes: - The tithe should be paid in full -. The Synod of Salamanca (Z 33§): - It is forbidden to deprive the church of tithes. that their income is taken away".

In the beginning, the decima was apparently brought to the church, whereby the tithe payer often had to swear to have handed over the correct measure. Later it became customary for the tithes to b e c o l l e c t e d directly in the fields by collectors (decimators), who in turn were sworn to carry out their duties conscientiously. However, tithes were also paid in cash (re- demptio decimae), with the cicche usually deciding the form of the tithe payment; in the event of currency devaluation, they may have insisted on payment in natural currency if the payment could not be increased in line with the devaluation.

The fourfold division - to bishop, parish priest, parish church and poor - which was usually demanded canonically in addition to the threefold division was more on paper and was not followed by popes or bishops, who received the most at home and were already among the richest landowners, while the poor undoubtedly received the least (in France often only a tenth).

However, if one reads the biographies of medieval bishops, one finds their care for the poor praised beyond measure, even a man like St. Anno of Cologne - a brutalist who thought only of himself, of his own power, who allowed his diocesans to be scourged, mutilated and blinded (Vl**7 ff!) - does not merely appear to be "of admirable holiness, astonishing deeds". as -despiser of all earthly things- etc., but of course also as -servant of the poor- (pauperum servus). In fact, these are empty words, shameless exaggerations, and most assurances of great episcopal care for the poor must be received with the same skepticism as the medieval miracle stories. And where help was really given, even beyond the normal, it was only like a drop in the bucket, not least good for the reputation for which (other) Christian churches also worked.

businessmen, such as global companies from Augsburg, who then set up foundations and their own accounts.

• Our Lord's Main Estate", the Welser - "Account of Our Savior and His Poor", the Fugger - "Account of St. Ulrich".

Quite apart from the fact that the poor also included monks and nuns, who had not been insignificant recipients of tithes since Ortonian times. And Rome still collected tithes in Denmark, Iceland and even in poor Greenland (driflo 1316 in the form of walrus tails). Tithes were demanded, at least in part - occasionally even extended to the meagre harvesting of ears of corn - even from slaves, and even from the completely isolated "living corpses", the lepers, who had been cast out of society!

Under the Carolingians, all inhabitants of the empire had to give a tenth of their agricultural yields to the church, which was un
Charles - who for the first time in 779 in Herstal also laid down secular penalties for tithe-refusers - and under Louis the Pious the right to a "ninth tithe" (nona), i.e. a second, double tithe (dezima et nona), ant a fifth of the total tithe.
income. In the early Middle Ages, the church became the first financial power in the empire, also thanks to numerous tax immunities and the forgiveness of the faithful and pilgrim donations.

This was also the case in Italy, where the clergy gained an extraordinary position of power at the time (also by displacing the counts in many cities) and immunity was soon so closely linked to the church estates that they were virtually called immunitates. The bishops, against whom the cities rose, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, Brescia, also received more and more new regalia, i.e. rights to which the king was entitled, such as the forest barony, game ban, right to mint coins, market rights, customs duties, were given ports and harbors, finally received entire counties and finally territorial sovereignty.'-.

While the Orthodox Church only rarely levied tithes until the later Middle Ages, for the Roman Catholic Church, for which it was considered almost the minimum payment, it became the most important, and for those obliged to pay it the heaviest levy, often only a very reluctantly collected payment.

brought xoncribution, to which there was often considerable resistance in both the west and east of the empire, as can be seen from capitularies, synodal confessions and even confessional mirrors of the time. The clergy were repeatedly urged to emphasize the necessity of paying tithes, punctual and exact payment was repeatedly insisted upon, and neglect was threatened with crop failure, plague, storms and the loss of salvation. And it is no coincidence that for centuries the church insisted on negotiating tithe disputes before the ecclesiastical courts, which it did until the end of the Middle Ages.

In the q. Rhabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, wrote in the 4th century that no one was allowed to enter a church, hear mass or receive the sacraments without first paying tithes. In the i 3rd century, Berthold of Regensburg, the greatest {Franciscan) popular propagandist of the time, agitator for crusades and

The "heretic" agitation, although passionate about greed (gitekeit), also comforts the poor workers who cannot hear *oh* mass because of all the work, because zwo the right man is at his right work, he also participates in the masses, and does not drive less zealously to conscientious tithing. In doing so, the pious Christians tried to outdo each other: the measures of the tithe payers were oh smaller, those of the tithe recipients - and they were mostly used - larger. After all, countless tithing privileges had been falsified over the centuries.

From the Carolingian period onwards, tithing was regarded as apostasy. The tithe-refuser was not punished as an ordinary thief, but as a robber of God; usually first by a fine, payment of the royal ban, and finally by exile and confiscation of property. Occasionally the tithing led to rebellions or at least played a significant role, for example 8d i in the Stellinga revolt {V i i 6 f.!) or i zzq in the war against the Stedinger (VII Iq i ff.!). In between, the Thuringians, for example, rebelled against the Archbishop of Mainz because of the tithes. xo6q they hanged some of his ministerials and even threatened him personally at a synod in Mainz in *°74.

However, for the sake of this tax, there was not only a dispute between church

and the laity rioted. For this reason, the clerics themselves fought each other, the bishops fought the bishops and the bishops fought the monks, as the monks wanted to have their land tithed, but the bishops wanted to collect the tithe. The prelate of Freising and the abbot of Tegernsee fought over the "decima" as early as 8oo. In the xo th century, the bishop of Orléans and the abbot Abbo of Fleury, in the i i th century, the metropolis of Mainz and the monks of Hersfeld and the bishopric of Osnabrück and the abbey of Corvey, the latter a tithe dispute that dragged on for more than two hundred years until it was finally settled by Bishop Benno II of Osnabrück with eight forged documents. However, the dispute between bishops and monasteries continued without either side being able to decide it for themselves; this was less due to the disputing parties than to the popes, whose positions changed constantly depending on their origin.

Even monks had bitter tithe feuds with each other, even monks of the same order, such as Cistercians and Cluniacensians. When the newly founded Cistercian monastery of Le Miroir refused to pay the tithes it had previously received to the Cluniac monastery of Gigny in Champagne by virtue of a privilege - **a** dispute in which such prominent church leaders as **Pope** Eugene flI, Bernhard of Clairvaux and Peter of Cluny were closely involved -, in the year i r5x, tenants and monks from the monastery of Gigny raided Le Miroiq Abbey, plundering, burning and destroying everything down to the ground - (Hoffmann). The abbots of Clairvaux and Cluny estimated the damage at 3o ooo solidi.

As the nobility also coveted the tithes of their own churches in the post-Carolingian period, there were frequent clashes with kings, sovereign princes and a large number of other tithing lords, as for example in the 3rd century in Silesia between the duke and the Wrocław chief pastor Lorenz. In the third century in Silesia, for example, between the duke and the chief shepherd of Breslau, Lorenz, the richest landowners in the country.

In such disputes, however, the nobility often granted substantial reductions in tithes compared to the harsh demands of the clergy, for example in the

Mark Meilen, in Brandenburg, Anhalt, probably also in Thuringia. The Counts of Schwarzenburg and Schweinfurt certainly did the same. They granted their German and Slavic peasants in East Franconia relief until they were completely freed from church tithes. However, after the death of the powerful Count Otto von Schweinfurt (i57s destroyed his great inheritance, the Bamberg bishop sought to abolish the tithe relief, at least for the Slavs, and decided at the local synod io 5q to have stubborn Slavic opponents of the tithe expelled until they agreed to pay. Similarly, Bishop Gebhard of Salzburg levied the full tithe instead of the much lower "Slavic tithe" that had previously applied to Slavs.

Throughout the centuries, the turmoil, complaints and riots over the tithes never cease and stand in stark contrast to the overflowing wealth of the monasteries, the bishoprics and no less the aristocratic seats.

But even the poor, who only live from hand to mouth, are obliged to pay taxes according to St. Thomas. Aquinas, the greatest church father of the Catholics alongside St. Augustine, on whom his social doctrine is often based, is a vehement defender of the communism of both productive and consumer goods and an ardent defender of private property, among other things because it makes the virtue of generosity possible. yes, possible! Not enough: only through a just, benevolent exchange of goods would a true "Communism" established!

According to Carlyle, there were öo ooo tithing proceedings pending before the courts at the outbreak of the French Revolution. However, the Revolution abolished this type of exploitation on November z *7 Q äb, the rest of Europe only in the i9th century. Century. However, the former tithing obligation in some areas, especially Germany, -still today the legal basis for a subsidiary building obligation" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche}.'*.

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N O F T H E C **L O S T**

Many monasteries, economic giants of the first order, were even richer than many episcopal churches - of which Augsburg had just over i yoo (a third of which were occupied by serfs) and Salzburg just over i 6oo farms at the time of Charles 1. They integrated themselves perfectly into the advancing feudalism and simply multiplied enormously, and with them their property.

The Dominicans, a mendicant order who took the vow of ar-courage in i azo, whose founder Dominic included the strict commandment of non-possession in their constitutions at the general chapter in the same year, owned six monasteries in the very next year; i z zi. And it was no coincidence that the monks, especially the Cistercians, were repeatedly said to be displacing peasants, knights and even the clergy. In England, this was almost proverbial -
-Evil neighbors like the white monks-. Only Bernhard von Clairvaux (the -clerical scoundrel-, says Schiller and says too little), the Cistercian propagandist of a great market {VI4 6d ff.!), founded around 7 monasteries. i I §3, in the year of his death, the or-
The monasteries were already 5 5o, around i soo already 53, around i y oo even 1600. (Clairvaux Abbey itself was abolished 7sz, i 8o8 breeding house, the church z 8iq demolished.)'°

In the Middle Ages, it was not uncommon for the land holdings of the religious orders to reach immense proportions before disappearing again in various ways.

The Benedictine abbey of Werden an der Ruhr, whose estate was estimated to have za farms and aoo farmsteads (Hufen) around the year 88o, had a reputation as a poor monastery. (A hoof, the measurement of which varies greatly depending on the area, has an average value of
Area of x3 hectares. A large estate of medium size comprised about 3oo hooves, i.e. around 4 oo hectares).

The monastery of Hersfeid, ktlrZ VOF 77d from the enterprising Lm, Bishop of Mainz, increased its original zo HöfR blood -°97 farms and 6y5 farmsteads within one generation
{Mansen) in i q J localities.

The imperial monastery of Lorsch, which was repeatedly the con-

fession, depending on whether he belonged to Mainz or the Palatinate, had possessions from Switzerland to the Netherlands and the Frisian Islands, probably sooo farms.

DaS XlOStßf St. SGU ER, ** 4 oo Hufe taxed, owned land in almost a hundred places in today's Württemberg in the early Middle Ages, but even more numerous donations and acquisitions were made in the area of the
Switzerland today and in other Alemannic regions.

The monastery of St. Btasien, which secured privileges in the i a. At that time, no fewer than 6z churches belonged to the monastery of St. Btasien, which secured privileges through multiple forgeries in the 16th century and spanned three dioceses, Augsburg, Constance and Strasbourg.

The list of the goods, income and rights of St. Florian Abbey in Koblenz alone comprises almost fifty printed pages.

A register drawn up in Tegernsee in the early i th century puts the number of farms belonging to the monastery at

The monastery of St. Boniface in Fulda is said to have owned 5,000 farms in a widely scattered location between the Alps and the North Sea coast, as did the large Benedictine abbey of Luxeuil at the foot of the Alps.

Saint-Germain-des-Prés near Paris in the q. Under the Abbot Irmino, the estate covered an area of o8o hectares, including only*7* hectares of marshland, hundreds of hectares of pasture, meadows, vineyards, zz**9 hectares of arable land and iqy qzy hectares of forest. To the z4 Hertenhö-
fen and i 54 6 Zinshöfcn of the monastery came still7 i Fremdenherbergen. And as in Germany and France, it was the same in England, whose church in the late Middle Ages was perhaps even half of the population.
re of the soil. 'z

In the east, where the clergy finally became the driving force behind the ger- manization and, together with the German nobility in particular, subjugated the western Slavs, the monasteries founded in the i th, i th, i th centuries levied taxes in around 8oo Sorbian villages. The monasteries of Bosau and Nienburg alone sucked more than 3oo almost purely Sorbian villages dry. Bosau alone received

tithes from around 8oo villages, with each village having an average of ten hooves. In addition to the tithing rights and other benefits, the

the monastery { -s 6) five complete villages, two mills, six farmsteads {allodia), six churches and zx Hufen.4

This large monastic estate was mostly run with serfs, who the monks often kept for much longer than the secular landlords. In general, serfdom often ended by the middle of the i q. century. century, it still existed in Blaubeuren Monastery, for example, at the end of the i 5th century, and in the same form as reflected in the Worms court law of iozq! The abbot certainly had a "duty of protection and care" for his vassals, but what did this look like? Well, in the event of the death of their parents, for example, he had to feed their children until they themselves earned "bread and butter"; in other words, these serfs had to vow to him that they would remain serfs of his monastery forever and not accept any other lord.

Of course, the wealth of the -church of the poor- did not only consist of landed property. But it was precisely from this, especially since the circulation of money was infinitely more considerable than before, that larger sums came from better management, from the sale of surplus production and from interest. Other sources of monetary income were bequests and donations. Even the graves within the church walls and the payment for pews brought in money. The same applied to church fines, which had to be paid in all kinds of unimaginable circumstances, for missed appointments, non-payment, excommunication or interdict, often for entire communities.

As early as the 7th century, people apparently possessed the so-called The treasure of Guarrazar, one of the greatest treasures of the medieval West (Culican), only came to light again in 858 after the flooding of a Spanish cemetery: Crowns, pectoral crosses, pendants; a headband of Abbot Theodosius. All the pieces - presumably once the property of a church near Toledo, capital of the Visigoth kings, from whose time it all dates - are made of gold and encrusted with sapphires, pearls, agates and mountain crystals.

Many princes were generous. And before William the Conqueror, krah of numerous wars, felt himself to be a -warrior of God-, donor

and the abbeys of St-ßtienne and St-Trinité, died at the gates of Rouen on September 9, 1987, he bequeathed all of his unending hoard of money and precious metals to the churches and monasteries of his realm.

The bishops also often had significant private assets and, as can be seen from their wills, had cash, sometimes of enormous value, through inheritance, donation, purchase, robbery and extortion. Perhaps most rarely as a result of saving. More often, however, it was the result of shady usury deals, such as Robert of Bamberg, Abbot of Reichenau, who made himself a huge fortune in this way and was therefore reviled by the contemporary chronicler Lampert von Hersfeld -Geldgauch--,
-Küfidenpfennig-. But he, who is said to have offered the king a hundred pounds of gold for the expulsion of Fulda's Abbot Widerad and the conferral of the monastery on him, Robert, was no exception. Rather, as Catholic Kober emphasizes, *"greed for money* and usury were rampant among the higher and lower clergy. All types and forms of *usury* were practiced with great vigor" .

In the Christian church, people always lived on a large scale. As early as 6qz, the7. Synod of Toledo had to prohibit the visitator of a parish from appearing with more than fifty chariots in his retinue. ne! Some prelates, such as Archbishop Albero von Trieb in the High Middle Ages, came to synods with such splendor that everyone opened their mouths and eyes (quod omnium oculos in se et ora aperuit). And at the beginning of the modern era, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Albrecht of Brandenburg - twenty-one years old at the time of his election - lived in Königsberg Castle with more than four hundred servants around him.

The monks, however, obliged to live in poverty, developed a particularly close relationship with Mammon, made use of well-versed Jews in their financial transactions and were almost called the bankers of the early Middle Ages. A reputation that they probably owed less to cash than to their precious metal treasures, all the gold-spangled, emerald-studded cult objects, candlesticks, chalices, monstrances, reliquaries, etc., which were a **huge** savings asset, secured credit, could be melted down at any time and turned into money.

could be made in hard coin. Bishop Otbert of Liège bought the castles of Bouillon and Cotivin in this way ioq6. The Lorraine monasteries of the io. and i i. centuries had already spread the money economy with their possession of precious metals and had already acted as lending institutions, as banks, but, it is said, still without usury.

• To TRo £TE h4I NER SE LEN ^ O OF " LEGAL INHERITANCE U h4 I HR HRB E B RI NG EN ^

The main part of the blessing obviously came from gifts, donations from princes as well as from immense crowds of middle and small landowners. And even if the donations of kings, emperors and the high aristocracy were often motivated by political calculations, a very real worldly benefit, countless Christians endowed churches and monasteries with goods simply for the sake of their salvation, naturally fueled by heavenly promises and the torments of hell.

The typical form of the "Seelgeräts" {-donatio pro remedio ani- mae -), the transfer of property to a church for the purpose of permanent intercessions or an annual mass for the souls on the saint's day, emerged at the end of the early Middle Ages. It secured the performance of certain liturgical acts in return for a voluntary withdrawal of property, was therefore a mutual, ordinary legal transaction interspersed with elements of the contract of sale (which w a s later replaced by the will) and, as the decisive parr of all material allocations ad pias causas, allowed the clergy's greed for a - head of the inheritance- to be satisfied {Kroeschell).

If a believer was ill, worried or in danger; if he was afraid or remorseful or even approaching death, he donated cash, houses, land and property to the church. Countless monastic documents in all parts o f Europe, especially in the 8th, q. century, but long after that, bear witness to this, testify to the immense amount of money, goods, land and land.

land - small and large gifts, huge ones. And it was always done for the sake of the salvation of souls, it was done with the magical formulas "pro redemptione animae", "pro mercede ariimae", "pro anima sua" or as later written in every will: -to troste miner seien- .

The English historian William Edward Hartpole Lecky did not exaggerate when he claimed that for several centuries the first article of the Christian moral code was to give money to priests. It was so simple. You paid, you donated, you signed over pro redemptione animae - and received in return. You literally donated "to cool off in purgatory". And even the pasture in his oak forest was designed by a salvation-seeker zoo toilet pigs - for the eternal remission of his sins {pro aeterna remissione peccatorum suorum). yes, just to be able to spend the evening of his life in a monastery and the rest there in "consecrated ground", oh, older people bequeathed their entire estate to the monks.

In the document book of Lorsch {Lauresham}, which from 7 6 received about roo donations per year, it reads like this: - I Wolfhodo give to St. Nazarius of Lorsch in Maingau my goods in Turinc- heim {Dornigheim), and the church that is built to the honor of St. Nazarius.
Mary and other things." - "I Imma give 6 days' work in Turin next to our church. Done in the monastery of Lorsch in the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Ludwig." - "I Engelirud and Engelffeind we give St. Nazarius a church that is built {in Nievern an der Lahn) in honor of St. Mary and what belongs to this church." -
-In the name of God; I Isinar give for the salvation of my soul to the holy martyr Nazarius in Quirnheim ... the church, which is built to the honor of the holy God-bearer Mary and St. Mdrtinus, together with the farm, Reinberg, etc. -

Or consider the donations made to the Kapellendorf convent in Thuringia by a single family, the Burgraves of Kirchberg, over the course of a single century.

In the year i zoo, Dietrich the Elder and the Younger, with the approval of their heirs, handed over the site on which the nunnery

stands and everything belonging to it, as well as all the goods, free of charge.

the convent with the sole obligation to allow the founders to participate in the prayers and good works of the pious women - also in the future".

In the same year, a Heinrich von Gornew'-4 donates hooves to the monastery, a Heidenreich4 hooves, a Frau Gela von Toubechfl 4 hooves, in Umversredt 3 hooves, in Sulzbeche z hooves, in Schwab-
häUSe* 4 acres of wood and a field at the end of the village, the parish with y hooves, the chapels with their tithes, the garden and the yard of the Marienaltar with the other fields in Kapellendorf and Hustorf, the tithe from the allod in Kapellendorf, the Reinberg near the monastery, the Reinberg of the brother Kristan with the other vineyards, etc.

i zs6 Dietrich lV granted the monastery 3 i/z Hufen in Toubeche with the associated farmers and estates as well as various farmers in the village of Uinverstedt in honor of the Mother of God, for the benefit of his own soul and his entire clan, living and dead. **73 Burgrave Otto grants the nuns z hooves "in honor of the Virgin Mary and the apostle Bartholomew".»7s he grants the brides of God one hoof and two
serfs, iz8 i half a hoof with all the rights attached to it.
In 1983, Otto donated a plot of land in the Kapellendorf churchyard and three vineyards in Closwiz "in honor of God, his mother Mary and the apostle Bartholomew and so that the departed burgravine might be remembered at daily masses and an ever-burning lamp maintained" in memory of his deceased wife.

For not only - to pass over further gifts from the generous count {including a mill, an entire village and a myriad of sales in favor of the poor nuns} -, not only could one provide for oneself, for a whole eternity with so little, so ßa- nal. One could also help the salvation of one's neighbors, relatives and friends, heirs and descendants at incredibly low cost, provide a saving remembrance, donate anniversaries pro remedio animae. For example, you could give as much wax, grain, silver or gold as the person whose salvation you were asking for weighed. And if you were dead yourself, then - a literally miraculous

Gexhäft - a person's own circle of friends, clan, or clan circle, which alleviates the torments of purgatory in exchange for a certain endowment, a gift in kind, a monetary value, in short, for further payments.

Now the Late, this in spiritualibus so guileless, unclear, often ignorant head, would never have come up with all the subtle metaphysical options of Catholic soul salvation on his own. This required learned theologians who knew exactly how easily spirit and matter, soul and possessions could be brought together, how easily protection from this-worldly and other-worldly dangers, salvation from sins and punishments for sins, indeed how effortlessly everlasting heavenly rewards could be bought for disdainful temporalities.

Everywhere the Good Shepherds pointed this out, they traveled to the unwary, they advised the hesitant, in writings, sermons, in confessions, but especially at deathbeds, where their influence, their art of argumentation (not only then) on those tortured by fear of death was always strongest, They always exhorted not only to give alms, to make sacrifices, to pay tithes, no, over and over again they eagerly called on people to at least, if not give everything - the best, the most! -at least a part of their own possessions to the church and thus redeem themselves, as it were.

It was so easy ... all that was needed was the tried and tested spiritual agitation, whether in words or works, such as increasingly effective translations of relics. Even in antiquity, false and true miracles (among the saeculares) had already been performed with this method, not only with the capital pieces of a saint's corpse, but also with its whiskers, its dust {III zq i ff.!). And the "demand" had remained with the faithful, thanks to Christian knowledge. - Since St. Vitus rested in the Saxon Korvey {836), the monastery's possessions rapidly increased" (von Schubert),'-

This clerical practice already caused a stir among contemporaries.

Even Emperor Charles "the Great" accused the prelates of unnecessary church buildings, enrichment, excessive greed, extortion, fraud, theft of the poor's property by threatening otherworldly punishments, but also forced donations of land by wealthy people, etc. He ruled sharply at the Diet of Aachen

8 i i bishops and abbots, he turned against all those who, in God's name or that of a saint, robbed rich and poor alike, -simple souls, ignorant and unclear minds of their property and deprived their rightful heirs of their inheritance-. He saw children, orphans, relatives and the poor thus plunged into misery, forced onto the path of resistance, driven to flagitia et scelera, furta et latrocinia, turned into beggars, thieves and robbers.

After the Carolingian decrees, be- lievage, we- lagering and robbery were rampant in the Frankish Empire. The capitularies repeatedly condemn the giving of gifts, the (testamentary) dispositions, the loss of property and the resulting estates. But of course they are not interventions against the feudal system. They are - protective measures - pro domo. They were primarily aimed at the small free peasants, whose share of military service, the most important thing for Karl Gewifi, was constantly decreasing. Through a survey in 8i i he learns that the poorer peasants had been deprived of their property by bishops, abbots and their bailiffs as well as by counts. "They also say that anyone who does not want to give their property to the bishop, abbot, judge or sub-officer will be condemned and continually sent on military campaigns until they are completely impoverished and willingly or under duress hand over or sell their own property; others who h a v e already done so will sit at home in peace.

In the "Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis" from the year 8 r i, **Kari** clearly states "that clergymen fraudulently made free men give up their property, using perjury, false testimony, the cult of saints and relics." - And what can one say of those who, out of love for Goa and the holy martyrs and saints, drag the bones and relics of the holy bodies from place to place, build new churches everywhere and urgently ask as many people as they can to transfer their property there?" (The total number of churches in Germany around the middle of the q. Century was estimated at 35oo). Charles did not want to know much about the monks' worldly, selfish goings-on, wanted both the

The number of congregations and their members was limited. He made gifts to only a few monasteries and did not endow a single one himself. Is it surprising that the canonized monarch (N od), even in the last years of his life, forbade the king to transfer land and property to the churches?

Of course, Charles had not been dead long when Louis the Pious decreed 8iq: -'Because we know, according to the tradition of the Fathers, that the goods of the Church are the pledges of the faithful, ransoms from sins and the property of the poor, we wish not only to preserve what belongs to each Church, but with God's help to add much more.

But these churches themselves also ensured this, as the church had always ensured, by creating that dull, spiritually distant climate in the minds of its subjects that made the subjugated believe in the imposed rule and its horrors as a test through suffering, a promise of reward in the hereafter, the famous God-given order, and to believe this unwaveringly for a long, long time. Of course, it was not only an alert, remarkably realistic assessment of the life and performance of feudal peasants, such as that of Bishop Adalbero of Laon in the tenth century, who knew the benefits of the unfree. -It is they," confessed the excellent caricaturist of Cluniac monasticism under St. Abbot Odilo, "who provide food and clothing for all; for no free man is able to live without them." Adalbero's contemporary Abbo I, Abbot of Fleury, was also slain by rebellious monks during an inspection of the priory of La Réole {Gironde), assured by the unfree peasants that "the entire church is maintained by their work". But this is what the supreme wisdom had preordained from all eternity, it had willed "that among men some should be masters and others servants". This is how the Catholics have always taught it, this is how their popes still teach it in the eighth century, and this is how the conscience, if it stirs, but should not stir, can be wonderfully reassured. It was God's will that the poor, to use the words of Jacob of Vitry, the first-class crusader (VII zi 8 f.), should earn their living by the labor of their hands, but have nothing left over when they have eaten. This could, as

the Bishop of Rennes, étienne de Fougeres, lamented, but at the same time praised the benefits of physical labor and despised all those who performed it.

In the Middle Ages, farming was considered servilia opera, servant work and dishonorable.

T H E H L. ISI DO R

The Christian peasant, no doubt, was despised by both secular and spiritual lords, and he despised and loathed them in turn. Archbishop Bezelin Alebrand of Hamburg-Bremen,
-... a father of the fatherland, an adornment of the clergy and the salvation of the people", a hierarch who was effusively praised by Adam of Bremen, who could hardly bear a bad word about the clergy, had villains beaten with bullwhips in front of his eyes. indeed, his successor Archbishop Adalbert sometimes even maltreated them in this way himself.

-The peasant hafit the churches, says a French text succinctly, and -Der Winsbecke -, a German didactic poem from t h e 3rd century, expresses the same. Only too understandable the sigh of that free countryman at the sight of a high gentleman whom he sees hurrying to church: -"This one has a few chickens tonight, which would be enough to feed all my children."

The peasant was denied the oath of purification and forbidden to c a r r y weapons. -On Sundays, commands the widely circulated imperial chronicle from the middle of the i th century, he should go to church and c a r r y a stick in his hand. But if he carries a sword, he is to be b o u n d , led to the church fence and have his hat and hair cut off."

The clergy, in particular, could also spread good things about the plagued, the -pauperes et miserabiles- could be called much holier "than the monks in their monasteries and the clerics in their churches", one could say: - Everything that a peasant gains in a whole year with undaunted labor

But that was only written on paper, in envelopes and statutes. The practice was different, and usually the sermon was different as well. lmmer and again and again it was said: duty to obedience, duty to labor, duty to perpetual work for the heavenly, the earthly Lord. May God send all, the Council of Aachen knows, for whom he does not ordain freedom, out of mercy into servitude, in order to restrain the servi" by the authority of the Lord.

Yes, the Bauen BuBe should serve. But he has no less merit - by God, of course - than the cleric who sings in church all day and watches at night for matins. You should also put up with harassment, even injustice, and just don't refuse to pay tithes, because that is cheating God, it is not ordinary theft, it is stealing from God. - Good people," a clergyman zeals,
-Give your earthly master what you owe him. You owe him interest, services and taxes. Give them in full and in full at the right place and at the right time." And Thomas of Cantimpré, a pupil of Albertus Magnus and probably also the preacher general of the Dominicans, tells of a little farmer, who often prayed all night, who saved his own money to help other poor people.

Good, good, that's how Mother Church likes it. And doesn't it already remind us of the idol she created? That brave, virtuous and hard-working hero of labor, St. Isidore {feast i May 5), patron saint of the city of Madrid and patron saint of farmers? Attributes: not a hammer and sickle, but a scythe, pitchfork, threshing angel, rosary - and sometimes a crucifix {crucifix). The holy farmer dies around i x 3o, and of course he dies -a holy death", but, God knows why, he is not canonized until half a millennium later.

And everything the world knows about him comes from the - Vita et miracula auctore Johanne diacono- of the*3 century. At the beginning and at the end, the peasantry appears in it as the most necessary business of human society, and from the beginning
to the end, the blatant propaganda function of this figure is evident. As

-jeozx must sem eiceneR Ocnse seix-? _____ ION

Born to poor but pious parents in Madrid, Isidore grew up equally poor and equally pious, alleviating the hardship of other poor people by sharing their wages and food with them. That's the way it is. Once it is empty, a **miracle** of divine love fills the pot ..." But even more wonderful: from dawn onwards, he shoos and turns his slave labor into "godly work, into divine service". And most beautiful of all: -The harder and more laborious the work, the more joyfully he undertook it, and the more patience he had in order to accumulate good works. If it seemed too hard for him, he imagined Jesus on the cross; how hard He had made it for Himself to atone for the guilt and **eternal** punishment of our sins. While his hand guided the plow, his heart conversed with God.

Yes, the hand on the plow, the heart at home, with the one in heaven and, who knows, perhaps even more with the one on earth. And the Dictionary of Theology and the Church, which is modest with just six lines about St. Isidore, concludes: -Schort miraculous during his lifetime. His body, preserved intact, still rests today in the cathedral of Madrid ... -'- Well, then, make a good old-fashioned penitential pilgrimage there soon, but first make sure of the authenticity of the ablative taxes so that you don't end up looking foolish.

*J EDE R hlU SS
SE I N OWN SE I N 2

The masses were thus optimally prepared metaphysically. They made it possible for the elite to wage holy wars all around them by providing not holy, but highly salutary help, the
Participation in God's plan of salvation - - a true blessing, at least for the leaders; otherwise, as far as work is concerned, Job7 is different.

In the course of the early Middle Ages, feudalism had developed more and more, the secular and ecclesiastical large estates still

increased. The church was an aristocratic church, the episcopate closely related to the aristocracy, intertwined (lV q. ch.!), and with the constant growth of property, the damage suffered by the workers and dependents naturally also grew. Slavery in the strict sense, the old -latifundia-slavery-, decreased (although it existed in the lower Mediterranean Europe until well into modern times), the number of unfree and semi-free people increased. A large church had hundreds, an episcopal church thousands of farms with i z ooo to 48 ooo botmäfiige people. The episcopal cities, however, lived predominantly

The bishoprics were largely dependent on their rural proletariat, and in some bishoprics even the citizens were landowners and serfs. -°

The monasteries fared even better than the churches. After all, monasticism was a special instrument of power and propaganda for church leaders, popes and patriarchs.

since the sixth century, since the later iconoclastic controversy {IV 349 ff.) and throughout medieval history. Indeed, monasticism had a greater significance in public life than the world clergy, with whom it often came to bloody tumults {p. i zy f.).

According to old French poetry, the wealth of the monasteries came from many sources: from the cultivation of the estates by serfs, from ecclesiastical benefices, from income from church services. Everyone made sacrifices, including golden vessels, chalices, weapons and money, and not sacrificing precious cloths¡ was a conspicuous act. Other sources of income included funerals, absolution tributes and the execution of wills. However, the greatest profit was undoubtedly made from donations from the laity. And since the flourishing of the towns, the influence of those wearing cowls increased even more, they were more prominent everywhere, not least at festivals, baptisms, weddings, funerals, but also at consultations on the battlefield, in short, the religious played an important role in the life of the church at that time.

-a dominant role in all areas - {Parisse).

When the Irish monks appeared in western and central Europe in the 6th century, one monastery after another was quickly established, particularly in Austrasia, Alsafi, Lorraine and central France. And by the **middle of** the S. century, there were already

around zoo monastic houses in the Merovingian Empire.

IfTl 13th century, however, only Florence i56 Monastery of Milan {itflflO I* 71 io ooo monks - but only zoo doctors and only 8o schoolmaster, the Benedictine order in the early i 5th century. hundred mChf BlS 3 OOO, at the time of its greatest heyday it owned about ¡ 7 monasteries.

Like the bishop, however, the abbot was usually less concerned with "pastoral care" than with politics, influence, property, wealth and power. And just like every church, every monastery, even the smallest, brought in money, it was always and above all of economic importance, it was more a manor than a church, an "economic body" {Haller). And at least in Italy, the term "abbas et yconomus" became increasingly common from the High Middle Ages onwards, with Peter of La Celle calling monasteries "treasure houses, secret chambers of God".

A monastery usually had stables for oxen, horses, goats and pigs, as well as threshing floors, bakeries, breweries and taverns. And as some rulers bestowed rich market privileges on the monasteries, especially Otto I, Otto III and Henry II the Saint, markets were also held in the monastery or churchyard.

The business later expanded. The Raiten- haslach monastery, founded at4 6, had its own sales outlets in several Bavarian and Austrian towns, as well as its own special friction and

Disputes with the citizens. In Munich the monastery owned a meat bank, in Krems a wine tavern, the monastery fathers owned forests, numerous mills, village smithies, a salt works, they traded in salt, timber, building stones and bricks. Asceticism, contemplation and a rigorous renunciation of the world had long since given way to economic activity, and increasingly so to public agitation. And business flourished all the better as the monks, like the clergy, were constantly being granted immense tracts of land anew, soon to the annoyance of secular rulers, and, through the granting of immunity, numerous

state charges have been partially or completely waived."

The working frenzy of the old monks of Wales, according to the slogan

-Everyone must be their own ox-, was blown away by

Manual labor - "with one's own hand -, -without the help of slaves" - has long since ceased to be the norm for monks, neither in the fields nor in the garden.

All monasteries owned land, as well as their slaves and dependent farmers, and every service was often specified down to the last detail.

In the io. In the 15th century, for example, the freemen of the Weifienburg monastery from many villages had to provide "one ox each against the enemy", and from some villages even "five oxen with two men", while others had to provide a certain driving service between the villages. The farmers of these WeiBenburg monks kept watch at the manor, they had plowing and harvesting duties, had to grow grapes, produce linen and woolen cloth, beer and bread, they had to deliver spelt and rye, horses, young pigs, chickens, eggs and money. And in the i th century, it was probably not only in Hungary that six to eight farmhands were needed to feed one monk.

However, there were not only the serfs, the bondsmen, but also the fratres conversi, the lay brothers, also called laici, exteriores, illi- terati, idiotae.

Documented since the 5th century and often mentioned in medieval writings, the frequency of their occurrence probably contrasts with what we know about them. For although there were various forms of conversos, they were generally without clerical ordination and excluded from the abbatial election. Their relationship with the monks, to whom they were naturally subordinate and to whom they could not ascend, was delicate, tense, not without envy and treachery. A strict distance prevailed. They lived separately, aB separately, slept separately, and there were also separate rooms for the sick on both sides. Occasionally there were even riots. In short, the converts were a kind of "second-class monks", but they had to work harder (Rüther), which is why they were happy to take strong people from a lower class, sons of farmers and craftsmen.

The monks, of course, whose cultural activities and other

-The fact that children's ears are already being blown for centuries has increasingly led to a decidedly beque-

mes, noisy and often also dissolute life, much lamented in the Middle Ages. Even of the Cluniacens, always singled out as the leading reformer, writes their St. Abbot Petrus Venerabilis (of course from the feudal nobility; three of his brothers are also abbots, a fourth is Archbishop of Lyon): - Mühiiggang has taken such a hold on a large part of our people, but most of all on the friars, that in the monastery and outside, with the exception of a few who read and a very few who write, they lean against the walls of the cloister and sleep or waste the whole day from sunrise to sunset, even into the night, if they can do so with impunity, with empty, idle words or diatribes."

However, if the gentlemen interrupted their sleep at night, they fetched

They usually did it during the day. One slept the -night- sleep, awake five to nine and a half hours, very often also a

"Morning nap and often an afternoon nap", which St. Benedict expressly prescribed for the summer. However, hardly any abbots resided in castles, as was often the case later. And although there were now usually more lay brothers, solid men for work, than monks among the religious, their

The ratio was around3 :z or 3:i, and there were also whole crowds of secular servants (famuli), and monks were even accompanied by a servant when traveling.

Life was lordly, feudal. The "democratic" era of monks with opportunities for advancement from the old classes was over; wealth and high birth were now important for abbots and abbesses. They lived in palaces. They valued the influx of the wealthy, people with property and fortune, promising them a comfortable, stable life, while other monks were occasionally driven out, as under the noble Fulda abbot Ratgat, whose tomb was demolished by the German peasant warriors. Under Innocent III, Abbot William of Saint Omer welded two abbeys together and forcibly forced his way into a third. Bernard of Clairvaux was zealous against the vanity and opulence of many monasteries, against the excess of food, drink, clothing, bedding, riding gear and buildings. And in an old French text, a rich count is advised to

son to enter the monastery because he would then become even richer. *

The pious gentlemen - and ladies - liked to separate themselves. They loved to pray among their own kind. Even the Rule of Isidore of Seville only allowed freemen to join monasteries. Later, purely aristocratic monasteries were founded, baronial monasteries such as Zurich, Einsiedeln, Verden, Corvey and Quedlinburg. In the famous Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall, there are records from the period between izoo and -4IQof the family after
4 monks are known, 53 of whom belong to the baronial class. In the i4 th century, the monks of Reichenau were only the sons of counts and barons. It was not until the early i6th century that
In the 16th century, commoners were also admitted there. Many small monasteries were even founded by the nobility with the intention of providing for children.

The women's convents were also often characterized by feudal status and class.

From its foundation in the early Middle Ages until the i yth century, the Buchau nunnery in the diocese of Constance only took in women from count or baronial families. From its foundation in the early eighteenth century until the eighteenth century, it only admitted women from count or baronial families. The Gemrode canoness convent, founded around q 5q and run almost exclusively by ladies from the higher nobility, had noble canonesses whose personal servants often also came from the nobility.

Even St. Hildegard, who was already celebrated as a prophetic mystic during her lifetime, left her noble mark on the Franconian monastery she built near Bingen. Indeed, the daughter of a nobleman explained this to the abbess of Andernach in a letter: -No one will unite his cattle into one herd and into one stable: Oxen, donkeys, sheep; this mixing would lead to hatred if the high-born had to give way to the low-born; God, too, divides the people on earth, just as he divides angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, cherubim and seraphim in heaven ...--* There were women's convents that were nothing more than the supply lines, the endowments of the daughters of nobles. There were female convents with large servants; there were abbesses who kept noble lords as

chamberlains, truchsesses and tavern keepers; there were abbesses (in the 13th century in the dioceses of Burgos and Palencia) who were not

only preached, but also heard their nuns' confessions. And finally, there were abbesses who were also adept at scourging peasants. The abbess of St. Walburg in the diocese of Eich- stätt often put her heirs in prison, and in a petition to the bishop, an entire community feared that she would be -stopped, blocked and punished no- t how severely.

The commandment of personal poverty was completely disregarded in many monasteries. Quite a few monks and nuns had property, their - privara repositoria-. - They wear clothes," complains Gerhoh, the provost of Reichersberg, who fought against the feudalization of the church in the x i th century as forcefully as in vain,
-which they do not receive from the common chamber, they eat food which they do not have from the common cellar; each does his own work, they do not work for the community, but as they want, for whom they want and as long as they want. -

t was not a requirement for the nuns of Nimbschen in Saxony, but it was common practice, as was the case in many other places. The nuns of Marienthal near Zittau also had - in some cases quite significant - private property, not only pensions, but also capital assets. The Poor Clares, whose founder preached the principle of propertylessness with all her energy, wore jewelry and precious clothes in Ribnitz in Mecklenburg just like the Breslau Poor Clares, who had more gold and silver in their wallets than charity in their hearts. The Breslau abbess Margareta Duchess von Tost even complained that a confessor had incited the rebellious sisters in and outside the confessional to try to kill her, the abbess, to strangle her or at least chase her away.

Wealth made the pious overconfident.

In Sonneberg, a Cistercian convent in Upper Franconia, the nuns beat up their abbess in church. And in front of the Cistercian nuns of Ichtershausen, noble nuns, the confessor who was supposed to improve their morals even appeared with a panacea under his habit. Even in the house of the Dominican nuns of Cronschwitz, the richest convent in the Vogtland, although subordinate to the mendicant monks, the brides of God had private property.

They retained Leibgeding (vitalitium), which generally meant a lifelong right to use land or other income-producing objects, kept donations and concluded purchases. The enterprising nuns of Heiningen, who not only disputed with Wöltingerode Abbey, but also for centuries over tithes with Dorstadt Abbey, acted in the ig. Säkulum, they traded lively with their own house by buying entire farms and gardens. However, if the monastery estates were squandered in one way or another, potentates sometimes ordered restitution at short notice, as Otto **III** did in *999* with the noble Buchau convent.

This was not unusual, even when the Bamberg chief shepherds Hermann and Rupert squandered numerous treasures and goods of the diocese, Emperor Henry IV, informed by Rupert xo8g about "the miserable state of the still with vivid colors-, made "new donations-. Or when in the tz. Or when in the tenth century in Italy bishops and abbots loyal to the empire had sold, pledged or pledged huge estates, Emperor Frederick I had all their often long-ago vendettas annulled **in short order,** and the Holy See sought to force the return of the ecclesiastical goods that had been in other hands for years by threatening to ban them from the Church, which resulted in countless lawsuits.

However immet; the difference between rich and poor is
still existed in the monasteries. Noble inmates were treated differently. St. Augustine, whose church was hardly coincidentally located in the immediate vicinity of the palaces of the rich, had already emphasized status symbols and the importance of clothing, "which is needed to distinguish rank". And as early as the beginning of the Early Middle Ages, the Rule of St. Leander, Archbishop of Seville, permitted the maintenance of temporal distinctions of rank in the monastery. Even there, a princess was not to be treated like a slave. And even in the late Middle Ages, the general of the Dominican order decreed that a rich lady in the convent, in this case a generous countess, was to be supported from her property if necessary. She could, if she did not want to spar with the monastic community

She should not be written up to perform services, she should be allowed to sleep on cushions, not be called forward in the daily chapters and not be burdened with work. These things shall be permitted to her and to all who come from a finer way of life, without being considered a violation of the rules."

Of course, those who did not come from a finer lifestyle were fobbed off differently even as transient guests. In St. Gall, for example, there was simple accommodation for the poor, as well as a comfortable, heatable guest house for the better world, along with servants' quarters and stables for the horses. Even Cluny, at times ahead of many monasteries in the "activity of love", had a hospice for the nobility with provisions for travelers of the higher classes and a hospice for the poor for the care of the destitute, a business that fell to the Eleemosynarius, the alms distributor.$-

CONSTRUCTION LEGENCES OF THE CIS TERZJ ENSER

But this whole, less ascetic life of the religious rested, like the whole of peudalism, on the crooked backs of the peasants. And the larger the latifundia of the church became, the larger its slave and serfdom became. These uniibershbaer 5chars are constantly growing due to the principle that "air makes one's own", which turns many free people who take over servant farms into servants. Even more so, however, is the increase in unrighteousness through mixed marriages, through marriages between free and unfree, according to which the children also become their own by virtue of the principle of the "stronger hand".

Quite a few bishops and abbots have oppressed their dependents even beyond the usual mafi, increasing their burdens even more; Bishop Henry I of Augsburg, for example, in the ro. century; or Bishop Hermann I of Bamberg, this -Wolf-, whom the chapter of the cathedral itself oppressed (Vl 3zo); or Archbishop Albert I.

of Hamburg-Bremen, who would have preferred to threaten his people on a daily basis.

>* i 3*3) As Norbert, Abi des Klosiers lburg, remarks of Bishop Benno lI of Osnabrück, the accomplished forger (VI 33 y}: "Not infrequently he forced the ßauern to do their duty by beating them; what Bishop Benno, like the

Abbot, his biographer, -as an urgently necessary measure" (pro summa necessitate) - and yet Benno's innermost concern was ... . to mediate and reconcile- (Kallfelz).

Hermann of Augsburg {i oq6-E 13§) was no slouch in his dealings with his own people. Having obtained the episcopal see through yoo talents borrowed from the Veronese and paid to the emperor as well as by force of arms, he robbed his own cathedral church and his cathedral chapter to pay this debt, with which he was moreover almost constantly at odds, constantly involved in bribery, forgery and lies, maneuvering between popes and antipopes, more on military campaigns than in the church, where he is also said to have committed adultery with the wife of the respected Augsburgian Adilbert.--

The Benedictine monastery of Blaubeuren, which sells its serfs, freely as usual, like property, exchanging them with the monastery of Ochsenhausen, for example, with the monastery of St. Blasien, the monastery of Zwiefalten, imposes all sorts of additional burdens, wagonage and labor services, and manual labor on dependents in addition to the usual ones. In the event of defiance, the abbot threatens to impose a fine, and in the case of serious violations, which he proceeds with at his discretion, he throws them into the tower.

The department also ignored the principle that "city air makes you free".

and let r -*7 their urban serfs and tenants be deprived of a number of rights; let it be confirmed that village people who want to marry children into the Sradi (!) will be struck off by the abbot; yes, that they themselves, if they - in malicious deviation - want to marry into the Sradi, will be struck off by the abbot.

visible citizens to be withdrawn from the monastery upon their death, "what is due to him", lose all their property to him. The abbey's rights are recorded in the formula: "Court, censure and ban,

commandment and prohibition and all jurisdiction and authority in village and field -. After all, many monasteries exercised jurisdiction and had their own gallows.

There were quite a few clergymen who enforced payments with extreme severity, taking barbaric action against violations, even with church punishments, for example to collect tithes. The 3rd Synod of Toledo had already reprimanded y8q: -Many complaints show that bishops in their districts do not act priestly but tyrannically and impose heavy extortions and burdens on their own. Only what the old custom allows here should be permitted. There were also bishops and abbots -who in every way and with the most diverse arts robbed the people of their property- Fichtenau).

Between the qth and i th centuries, not only was the exploitation of the serfs intensified, but attempts were also made, oh with success, to push down still free peasants, to incorporate them into large estates, to make them dependent, serfs. In Kempton Abbey, the abbots relied on a forged charter from Charles the Great. Owners married to a freedwoman were often imprisoned until the woman took on the status of a marine. Orphans were also easily exiled and forced to swear not to complain about it anywhere.

The Cistercians developed a special technique among monks.

This from Citeaux Cistercíum, hence the name) originated
The reform movement, which wanted to take the monastic ideals of St. Benedict seriously again, owed much, above all the beginning of its triumphal march, to a spiritual daredevil of special grace, St. Bernard of Clairvaux Vl 464 f.), but also to the favor of numerous crowned heads, such as Emperor Frederick 11.
and its long reign, the Capetian kings from Louis VIII to Louis the Saint, the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, the Scottish and Hungarian royal houses. It owed much to the general economic growth, also to the ignoring of its own original statutes and, last but not least, to its rigorous attacks on the peasants.

In the 15th century, the Cistercians had monasteries - mostly in eremitic seclusion - in Portugal I3, in Belgium i 8, in Spain y8, in Italy 88, in Germany over too, in England and

Ireland xc . Ageing in Clairvaux lived at timese 7 monks, and other abbeys had almost as many. (A monastery with a hundred monks6 old in the High Middle Ages was considered small.)-z

According to the first statutes of their order, the Cistercians were to cultivate the land themselves, they were to -live off their own labor, agriculture and animal husbandry-, which was of great importance to the founders, and thus everyone was to be -his own ox-. However, from the beginning they were assigned "converts or wage laborers" as "necessary helpers under our leadership". The converts were to be kept as -brothers, partakers of our spiritual and temporal goods like monks. But almost immediately afterwards we read that a convert could not become a monk under any circumstances, -rather he should remain in the profession in which he is called (I Cor. y, zo)". The slave should remain a slave - as with Paul, even after more than a millennium of Christianity.

'Should he perhaps elsewhere, by whispers of the devil (!), have received from someone, a bishop or abbot, the monk's or even

ganonics, none of our monasteries may accept him any longerp› 43

As almost everywhere, the lay brothers predominated among the Cistercians as well;‹• in Potigny in the i z century, for example, there were 5oo converts to ioo monks, in Rievaulx {England) in anno i i 6 to4 monks Zoo converts, in Himmerod in the year may to öo monks soo

ConverSes. The Abbey of Dunes only had 36 lay brothers in i i So, but five decades later it already had i zoo. And even the Cistercians today have to admit that their order owes its economic heyday precisely to the converts.

The converts, however, lived a subordinate, subordinate life, and there were conflicts that increased and increased. As in the other religious communities, the monks were the masters. They gave orders, the converts did the work, mainly by hiring the wage laborers (mercennarii) on the granges - farms averaging i yo to zoo hectares, preferably arable farms, but also cattle yards, sheep yards, wine yards - although they usually did the work themselves; -they were servants and were to remain servants -- (Hauck).-4

But the real victims were the farmers.

It is true that mart has always praised the Cistercians as bearers of culture, praised their architecture, emphasized their colonization work, especially in eastern Germany and Europe, their monasteries Walkenried, Amelungsborn, Loccum, their abbeys Doberan and Dargun in Mecklenburg, Zinna near Jüterbog, their cisterns in Pomerania, Brandenburg and Denmark. These monasteries owned land and mills, shares in salt works, mining and smelting operations, had plenty of granges and town courtyards, and also had some "celebrities", such as the monk Berno von Amelungsborn, the first bishop of Schwerin, who led in the Wendish War {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche), or the abbot Berthold von Loccum, who fell as a bishop and commander in i98 during the bloodthirsty missionary campaign in Livonia (VII *74)

The reclamation of swamp and forest areas is glorified.
The large orchards, the Reinberg and, characteristic of the Cistercians, the fish ponds, the sheep, cattle and horse breeding. The model farms are praised, as are their monastic trades. One is even reminded of the many of their monks who rose to become cardinals - "and the popes found their most reliable companions in the Cistercians" (Kawerau). Indeed, he recalls the Cistercian Arnald of Citeaux, who led Innocent III's campaign against the Albigenses, infamous for all time for his order at the massacre of Beziers: "Kill them all, God already recognizes his own!"- (Vil i yo ff.!)[4']

Catholic authors in particular rarely speak of peasant laying, and then usually more casually and cautiously; it is understood to mean the conversion of peasant land into estate land, monastery land, the often harmless elimination of peasant farms in favor of large farmsteads (grangiae, curiae), especially of the Cistercians, but also of the Premonstratensians, in the High and Late Middle Ages. However, this relatively convenient capital-accumulating practice is sometimes also encountered in other orders or ecclesiastical institutions, even among nuns, such as the Cistercian nuns of Wald Abbey (Hohenzol- lern), who systematically and as completely as possible displaced the owners from neighboring villages. The North German

The nuns in Bersenbrück on the river Hase had set fire to the farmers in the next village. Later, the grandchildren of the exiles, who had also become farmers, returned and set fire to the entire monastery. {It was eventually rebuilt as a shrine for the daughters of deserving civil servants.)

However, peasant laying did not become popular with the medieval peasants.

Religious, but only in the early modern period as a method long since approved by the church, so to speak, by noble landlords, especially in Eastern Central Europe.

The Cistercians, who were often already endowed with extensive estates, villages and tithes when they founded their monasteries, liked to expand systematically, multiply their possessions and round off their holdings. This can be clearly observed in many Bohemian abbeys, including Königsaal Monastery with around 3o villages, Chotieschau Monastery with around4 villages, Sedletz Monastery

with about yr villages, Plafi monastery with fund7° villages (was i8z6 property of the Metternich family). And despite the wars and devastation in the East, and despite all the setbacks, the Cistercians of Switzerland still possessed not only large estates in*7 century. countries, but also the most lucrative ventures.

(Grüger).

However, the Cistercians achieved the consolidation of their agricultural holdings not only by the highly praised clearing and clearing of wasteland, but also by the laying of peasants, they often deprived the owners of their estates, they bought, exchanged, extorted or robbed them, destroyed the houses, dwellings and often expelled the people living there. Nowhere else in the Middle Ages was the peasant land so sold out, nowhere else were so many villages turned into wastelands as in the vicinity of the Cistercian monasteries" (Hölscher).

In fact, the founding of Cistercian abbeys and the establishment and expansion of their large estates, the granges, often led to the disappearance of countless villages. The number of farms diminished from time to time and eventually the entire village was deserted. For example, the villages of Wenzendorf, Cucułau and

Scobkowe in the area around Kłoster Pfort. The village of Osfurt sinks near

Wendelstein on the Unstrut. The village of Coze disappears due to the monks of Altzelle (west of Dresden). -As part of the Hohenstaufen monastery and settlement policy, Altzelle's achievements were in line with what was customary for the order" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche). ßefter its dissolution s4, the monastery of Altzelle
three towns, 2 $ villages, i i farms and the patronage of
2.3 Churches. The Chorin Monastery - an important work of early brick Gothic, l'iterarisch honored by Theodor Fontane - lets
*°74 expel all the inhabitants of the Slavic -Vi11a - Ragösen. Maulbronn Monastery expels the peasants from the village of Elfingen and forms a clan. Sometimes even priests and churches cease to exist, as in Elfingen. Or the chapel at Vesper- weiler or the church at Geisnang in the Black Forest, as was the case with the ßebenhausen i zi i monastery.

There were almost constant bitter disputes between peasants and Cistercians. For example in the Middle Rhine region with the abbeys of Himmerode, Eberbach and Karden. For example in Sweden, where the abbot of Varnhem (Västergötland) had to flee to Denmark with some of his comrades. For example, in the East, where the abbots of the cistercian abbeys of Zinna, founded around I Z7O, and Lehnin, founded around i i8o, were murdered shortly after their foundation.*'

In the late Middle Ages, like so many religious orders, the Cistercian monasteries, both male and female {whose numbers sometimes far exceeded those of the male monasteries), faced a crisis due to the accumulation of large estates; above all because they could not find enough lay brothers or lay sisters to work their estates. Thus, in the 13th century, they gradually leased almost all of their arable land to farmers, of course also because the monastery's feudal estates and granges were repeatedly exposed to hostile solders and (other) robbers, not to mention the economic decline, climate deterioration, severe droughts and plague epidemics. Finally, the Cistercian order degenerated to such an extent that the monks in the La Trappe area were given the name '8andites of La Trappe'.

As always, the church adorned itself with completely different names.

She even appeared as a liberator of the peasants and, since she turned everything upside down, as a propagandist of freedom in general.

DIE SOGENANNTE RELEASE IN DER KIRCHE

It is indisputable that the release of freedmen was possible at any time, for example *by* special merit, **whatever was** understood by that. Or through ransom. Or by an act of the church. It is equally indisputable that the Church counted manumission {manu- missio} among the Christian deeds of mercy and presented it as pleasing to the good, even calling on the worldly lords to release their serfs. The legends of the saints are full of stories about the release of purchase and prisoner releases.[49]

What is behind it?

Well, the clergy eagerly propagated manumission, but they propagated -manumissio in ecclesia-, manumission in the church. He not only propagated it, he insisted on it. And this insistence is still reflected in the rights of the people from the earlier *8th* century. This is what it says in the strongly clerical Lex Alamannorum: - If a -liber' Dres suas- or wants to give himself to the church, no one has the permission to contradict him, neither the duke nor the count nor any other person, but everyone is allowed to serve God of his own free will and to redeem himself with 'proprias res suas'.- The Lex Baiuvariorum, which also dates from the same period and also has a strong ecclesiastical character, is **very** similar: - If a "liber persona- wishes to do so and gives her 'res' to the church for the salvation of her soul, she has permission with regard to her - portio' as soon as she has separated with her children. Let no one hinder him, neither king nor duke nor any person have the power to hinder him. "*°

But why did the church push so hard for release in its SchoB? Why did it act as a kind of protective power for the freedman? Why did it threaten anyone with severe punishment who tried to enslave a freedman again? Because she herself, of course for his salvation, wanted to obtain his dues and services, to subject him to her jurisdiction, in short, because she wanted to make the freedman dependent and unholy again.

It was no accident that the clergy were usually wary of releasing people themselves.

Her vast possessions, her properties, her workshops, her numerous other businesses all swallowed up **armies** of unfree people. For this reason, even in the earliest Middle Ages, it had expressly forbidden the release of slaves on its estates as a violation of the "patrimony of God", for example by the Councils of Seville qo, Clichy 6zy, Reims ö-7 jO, Toledo öj3 and 635, Merida 666. Indeed, as early as yo6, the Synod of Agde forbade the monastery abbot to release the - mancipia - given to the monks. -We consider it unjust for the monks to do the daily work of the peasants (cotidianum rurale opus) while the -servi" enjoy their freedom." Obviously they were only trying to exaggerate here: the decisive factor remained the prevention of release."

Certainly, even the release of church slaves was possible; the "moral" reputation of the clergy demanded it. But it could not be at the expense of labor and income. Compensation had to be provided in terms of land, people and money. -The Lex Ribuaria, a law of the people, threatened to "make a church servant (servus ecclesiasticus) a freedman without a deputy." Such a freedman, a "tabularius", remained liable to pay interest to the church even after the Lex Ribuaria. However, failure to pay interest could sometimes cost freedom. However, if someone freed this tabularius by throwing away treasure, he had to pay two hundred shillings as a penalty. And if the tabularius dies childless, who inherits him? The church, of course.

When St. Gallen once released fifty -mancipia-, these had

The monastery had to pay two denarii a year for this, in addition to a more substantial basic interest. The church already collected interest from the freedmen for the exercise of its "patronage" {mundaburdem, patrocinium). With all these and similar things, however, it was made clear "that manumission could only lead to salvation if the church itself gained something earthly in the process. Release alone was not enough. It had to benefit the church if it was to be pleasing to God. It had to bring the church the dependence of the released - (Epperlein}.*-

Time and again, bishops and abbots contested manumissions. They litigated ruthlessly in the 8th and *9th* centuries in various regions of the Frankish Empire when

"homines" , rightly or wrongly, asserted their freedom, but the lords had a way of enslaving people or keeping them in slavery; for example, an abbot in the region of Sens, an abbot in the region o f Angers, the monastery of St. Emmeram, Bishop Waltrich of Passau, Bishop Hitto of Freising and others. Emmeram, Bishop Waltrich of Passau, Bishop Hitto of Freising and others. West and East Franconian documents document the peasants' passionate claim to freedom and the fierce resistance of their opponents, especially the prelates. - The ecclesiastical feudal lords were the cruelest exploiters of the peasantry. They stubbornly clung to serfdom and indentured servitude (tKosminski).

As a result, the escape of the unfree and serfs, including their flight to the monasteries, occurred at a relatively early stage and more and more frequently. However, if individual monasteries conduct a legal dispute, a formal court case, this ends in

-Remarkably, this was always accompanied by the rejection of the peasant's claim to freedom and the assertion of bondage. Basically, the respective monastery had achieved its goal and asserted its claim to the dependence of the bequeather and his obligation to perform" {Epperlein).

The clergy clings to its possessions {possessio, ahd. bisez, eigan, lehan); to its living as well as its dead. It was the same with the secular nobility. And the medieval church never tired of depicting the terrible fate of those who misappropriated their possessions, who were guilty of "robbery". Karl Kartell, the distributor of large ecclesiastical estates {> 366), became the epitome of a god-damned prince in the Middle Ages, as did Duke Arnulf of Bavaria, to whom the clergy virtually attached the epithet "the evil one" because of his secularization of their Bavarian estates - previously: "by the grace of God" {V Register).

The priests invented the most horrible horror stories. Even St. Boniface, a sober Anglo-Saxon and "shrewd merchant", one of the "first representatives of the colonial tale of the later British (Sommerlad), reports that the soul of King Ceolred of Mercie" i7<9-7I6) was tormented in the afterlife by evil spirits, by rejoicing, exultant devils, -who had gathered from all parts of the world, in a greater quantity than .... that of all living beings on earth could be, and mauled him with various instruments of torture in an unimaginable manner until he was exhausted (inaestimabiliter fatigantes lacerabant). And St. Eucherius had, it would be hard to believe, killed the mighty emperor Charles Martel just as he was entering hell.
spies. In order to be sure of the authenticity of this vision, the skeptical bishop even examined the prince's grave, but all that emerged was a dragon.

The monks tried to help themselves by stealing their property. One of them stole land from Fleury Abbey in the i th century. He was promptly strangled by the "devil". But even the man's body was not laid to rest in a monastery cemetery. The earth threw it up again. The horrified widow returned the monastery property, and now the dead man remained where he belonged.

There is hardly a more frequently discussed synodal complex than church property and its protection. - For nothing did the bishops sacrifice more Zcit- (Thompson). Archbishop Hinkmar of

Reims, famous both as a prince of the church and as a forger of high favors (V i 8 i f.!), resolutely defends the church property as consecrated to God and also wants to see it defended by all worldly greats. For since the -sendurig- of the Ecclesia takes place in this world, its -sendurig- also requires the goods of this world (Temporalia, Bona temporalia). Both belong together, inseparably, the one as sacred as the other, the church property as "God's fiefdom", available from Christ alone, inalienable, untouchable, sacrosanct - theoretically! In practice, popes and bishops, abbots and abbesses provided it for their illegitimate children, their mistresses, they squandered it in a truly mercenary manner to t h e i r relatives, their closest entourage, to whomever they wanted.

Last but not least, they also run themselves through two millennia. um, die Bischöfe mit den Mönchen, diese mit jenen, jeder mit je- dem, quer durch das Abendlarid, vom Süden bis in den Norden, vom Atlantik bis in die Weiten des Ostens so häufig, immcrwäh- rend fast, dafi es beinah überflüssig scheint, dies noch zu belegen.

In the 8th century, Bishop Sidonius of Constance fought against the first abbot of St. Ciallens, the Alemannic Otmar. For political and economic reasons, the bishop, whose diocese was poor, sought the abbey, which was often fought over later on, and the abbot was condemned to starvation on the Bodman palace on the edge of Lake Constance {it is named after her), Otmar died imprisoned on the more easily controllable island of Werd near Stein am Rhein y Jq - and became a saint.

In the i oth century, Bishop Adalbero I of Metz committed an offense, -(Lexikon für Theo- logie und Kirche), also - for strategic reasons - the destroyer of the chapel of Diedenhofen (q 3q), at the Benedictine abbey of Gorze south of Metz. Bishop Adalbero, not only a reformer but also a Simonist, had to return the money advanced by relatives for his election and committed a crime by means of his

The "fideles" (servants) worked so hard on the abbey (which had been affected by the "Gorz Reform" and "Junggorz Reform") that it fell apart completely and the church became a stable.

Bishop Balderich of Liège did the same with Laubach Monastery.

The head of the monastery school there and dean Otloh, himself a multiple forger of documents, wrote about the episcopal visitations of St. Emmeram in the later 18th century: -I saw this monastery in Regensburg go to ruin through various kinds of persecution by the bishops, but I hoped for better times during my thirty-year stay there. Unfortunately, things turned out differently - as Otloh goes on to say shortly afterwards, "everything good the monastery had done internally and externally was brought close to ruin".

In the year g, the bishops of Metz and Liège overpowered the rich abbey of St. Trond in a dispute over the election of the abbot, burned it down together with the town and killed the inhabitants, whereupon the conflict dragged on for a long time.

The Bavarian Benedictine monastery of Weifienohe (near Forchheim) is said to have been so badly damaged by Bishop Timo of Bamberg at the beginning of the 13th century that not a single monk was able to live there for years.

For centuries, the chief shepherds of Würzburg fought over the ownership of Murrhardt Abbey, located in present-day Württemberg, whose abbots sought to preserve their independence, with both sides fabricating alleged royal and imperial documents and forging them without restraint.

Of course, the situation was no different elsewhere. And it was no coincidence that even before Luther, people in Germany were saying: the closer to Rome, t h e worse the Christian!

So let's take another look a t where we were at the beginning of the Cardinal Humbert, advisor to no less than four popes in the High Middle Ages, presents the half or completely ruined monasteries, churches, many deserted, but full of animals, weeds, churches in which people farmed and which served as stables. Even in Rome, in the monastery of St. Paul, in St. Peter's Church, the cattle went in and out ...

In Italy in particular, the clergy fought alongside the monks throughout the ages. This ranges from relatively small fighters, such as the secular clergy of Empoli, who fought there in the late Middle Ages.

At night a settlement of the Augustinians is raided, plundered, demolished

or to take up arms i3 z3 against one of the Benedictines of Pistoia.
The abbey was seized by the dependent church until long, long disputes over many monastery properties. For example, the rich San Niccolò on the Tordino was the object of fierce disputes over weapons and rights (including forfeiture) between the Abbey of Monte Cassino and the bishops of Teramo for centuries. Archbishop Guido of Milan plundered the property of the Turin monastery
S. Constantius, Bishop Helibert of Como attacked S. Ambrogio in Milan.

In Emilia Romagna, Nonaatola, at times one of the largest abbeys in Europe, was subjected to various attacks, not only by larger communities, but also by Bishop Alberích of Como, who also took action against the highly patronized Leno in Lombardy, for centuries one of the most important abbeys in the country. Even worse was the attack on Bobbio (province of Piacenza), one of the richest and most traditional religious houses, whose beginnings are, of course, obscured by numerous forgeries. Towards the end of the early Middle Ages, however, its estates scattered throughout the country tempted the neighboring dioceses to enrich themselves, and the bishops of Piacenza, Pavia and Tortona completely destroyed the monastery.

Of course, papal legates also took part in the exploitation of the monks, from Italy, where Cardinal Giovanni degli Orsini as legate of John XXII. Giovanni degli Orsini, legate of John XXII, kept three quarters of the income of the Badia, the oldest monastery in Florence, which was rich as a prince but was now ruined for the second time, all the way up to the north, where in Denmark Cardinal Fidentius, envoy of Cölesti III (VII i6 ff. 3g f.), plundered barbaric plunder, especially monasteries, and suspended abbots who were sitting on
ßen.”
their treasures.

But woe betide the laity if they encroached on church property!

It had, as they said, **iron** teeth. Even what the servants of the church owned was exempt from taxation. In the 4th century, the clergy was already considered a "tax haven" {cf. I ay y ff.). At the

end of the7. J ;th century, the English state also banned all income tax.

seized church property and exempted the Anglo-Saxon clergy from state taxes. And under the Merovingians, various popular laws threatened anyone who contested donations to the church with excom- munication.

Around the same time, some penitential books (Libri paenitentia- les), i.e. the then emerging catalogs of sins of the Western clergy, ordered that anyone who took money from the laity had to return it twice, and anyone who stole or robbed it from churches had to return it many times over. In addition, the thief was punished with a seven-year penance, three years of which were spent on bread and water. And under Charlemagne, breaking into a church was punishable by death along with theft.

Canon law prohibited any alienation of church property, *not only* alienation, alienation, giving away, exchange, but also any essential change, "any legal transaction that resulted in a permanent encumbrance of church property" (Nylander). Such misconduct, especially on the part of the laity, was punished with ecclesiastical penalties, including the most severe, such as excommunication. And not only in the case of alienation of territory, refusal to pay tithes or leases, but also for failure to pay interest within fourteen days, as evidenced by the Urbare, property registers of St. Pantaleon in Cologne, the monastery of Xanten and orders from the bishops of Münster. Everywhere, excommunication was threatened or imposed so that, as the documents state, "justice would be served, so that there would be no end to the danger to their salvation" .

However, excommunication could already occur in the case of rebelliousness, contumacia {rechtsversmehunge, widetspanigkeir, vorsmechnis- se), i.e. defiance, atifbegehren, obstinacy - a broad field that was also used. And of course an expulsion from the church had a different effect on simple peasant minds than on princes. In fact, the punished unfree must have been hit and affected all the more deeply, as the expulsion from the -comm unio fidelium- community of believers} sometimes even resulted in a ban on intercourse, which made the cursed person an outcast. Moreover, the church staged an impressive fuss. So

the excommunication of the peasants of Ostholte (for refusal to pay tithes, etc.) was to be lifted by order of the vicedominus {a kind of right hand of the bishop in the administration of the diocese) of Münster I •99

"every sunday and feast day by candlelight and g1ocken-
be publicly pronounced with the naming of names". And the aforementioned were t o b e avoided by every believer.

All privileges, advantages, all rights and wrongs, all power and authority lay in the hands of the secular and spiritual lords. Thus, even in the Catholic camp, it had to be admitted long ago that the wealth of privileges enjoyed by the clergy caused particular bitterness: their freedom from taxes, from other public burdens, their profitable businesses that limited lay profits, the - countless acquisitions of lying goods by the 'dead hand' -, "the restrained tithes", "the fines at the Sendger courts, etc." (Löhr)"

REvOLUTIONS IN THE NO RMODE4 D IE IN D ENEMAR K, NO RWAYS AND UN CARr'1

Depending on the time, place and circumstances, peasant protest and resistance took many different forms: from passive behavior towards the demands and encroachments of the landlords, from the negligent payment of services and taxes to their refusal, from emigration and flight to violent riots, the frequent robbery, devastation of secular and monastic farms to prolonged building uprisings and wars, especially in the late Middle Ages, when the agricultural depression and the lower sales proceeds for agricultural products obviously worsened the social situation of the peasants.-[9]

The surveys begin sparsely (although the paucity of sources must be taken into account) in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, the best-known revolt of which is the Stellinga (V x xli f.!). But since your g. In the 19th century, peasant unrest occurred again and again in Europe.

hen. They increased in the High Middle Ages and often led to cross-class and cross-state participation. On the German side alone, there were four large-scale ßauern r e b e l l i o n s

' *4-. forty in the i century, indeed these are now so rampant, that historians overlooked them until the so. century.

An open revolt as a result of the growing feudalization and increasing burdens broke out under King Chilperich I.579. at the very beginning of Frankish history. The peasants left
They seize the estates, burn the tax books in Limoges and are brutally beaten up. Under Charlemagne and his successors, harsh oppression also led to peasant oaths, "coniurationes-, - conspirationes-, "adu- nationes-, - obligationes", refusals of service and confusion. During a revolt of the peasants between y8z and y8 y in St. Amand, an abbey of the Salzburg Archbishop Am, Abbot Alcuin, Charles' church expert and his "most important advisor", according to the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, "recommended caning the backs of the rebels in order to regain a higher level of education".

• 7, the ruler smashes a conspiracy in Thiiringen. During a riot in the early g. Charles himself had to intervene in a riot in the early fifteenth century involving the inmates of the -villa Celtus", which belonged to St. Remi of Reims, who had been maltreated by a partly unrestrained Fron. The leaders were executed and their comrades exiled. Throughout the q. Carolingian capitularies mention Bauemmutte throughout the qth century. Again and again, fugitive servants are persecuted.

4 l2ftd 8öö the Fulda annals also report surveys of -homines- in the Archdiocese of Mainz.-°

ss7 the Norniannic peasants revolt. The chronicler Guillaume de Jumieges reports: - The ßauern generally began to gather together in the various counties of Normandy and wanted to live according to their will, in order to take over the Wal-.
to use the lands and waters according to their laws and not to be restricted by any prohibitions of the previously fe5tted right of use. And in order to enforce these resolutions, they elected two plenipotentiaries at each assembly of the angry people, who presented their resolutions to a general assembly within the country.

of the village for confirmation. When the duke learned of this, he immediately sent Count Raoul and his numerous knights against the peasants to put an end to the village confusion and the gathering of the peasants. And he immediately and secretly had all the representatives {of the peasants} arrested together with a few others and, after having their hands and feet chopped off, sent them back to their comrades as mutilated bodies to warn them against such (pranks) and to give the others a deterrent example in this way. .. -'

In Friesland and Holland, peasants revolted throughout the i th century. In Denmark, too, where an extremely extensive church estate was created through donations from the kings and the tithe was introduced, the peasantry rose up. And when new unrest broke out at the beginning of the next century, it was also preceded by protests against church burdens. By the middle of the i 3rd century, however, half of the Danish peasants were also free to dispose of their farms.

The first step in the spirit of enlightened absolutism was taken by - 7 8 Foreign Minister Count Bernstorff.

In Norway, too, the conflicting interests of the church and the crown, the oppression of the peasants and, above all, the imposition of tithes on all the people led to a long civil war, to the uprising of the - birkebeiner- (so named after their birch bark legwear), the heifit - armseliges Pack-.

Sverrir Sigurdarsson, the leader, competed despite some su-

The two parties successfully agreed on a settlement with Magnus V. Erlingsson, who was crowned king by Archbishop Ey- steinn Erlendsson of Nidaros {Drontheim) on Easter i i 6i - *4 in Bergen. Neither the

The help of his nobility is of no use to him, nor that of the Danes or the Archbishop and Bishop Eirik of Stavanger, both of whom support him militarily and repeatedly join him in the war. Of course, Eysteinn i i 83 makes a settlement with his former enemy Sverrir, and i i 8 King Magnus drowns in the battle of Fimreite in the Sognefjord.

The archbishop, however, who went to England for three years

and in Norway, in constant contact with Rome, systematically pursued the subjugation of kingship to the Church, died in i88 and was ultimately declared a saint in vain by a Drontheim provincial council despite all his efforts. Yet the martial prelate had also written the "Passio Olavi", the legend of the holy hero who io o died against an army of peasants, after which he had whole crowds of pagans beaten to death (Vl
156f.!).

Sverrir, Norway's new ruler, one of the strongest and most controversial in the country (d. i zoz), abolished all the privileges of the clergy, thus incurring Innocent I's ecclesiastical ban. Nevertheless, his anti-clerical concept influenced more or less all kings of the Sverrir dynasty for more than a century.°'

While Catholicism thus lost its political influence in Norway, despite some successes, but the free peasantry essentially remained there, the development in the south-east, in Hungary, was rather the opposite.

King Stephen I the Saint (VI*47), who waged war upon war, and his successors, in close cooperation with the papal church, forced the building and construction of the city, which had been largely free in the previous century, to be abandoned.
into serfdom. And as is almost always the case, subjugation and mission go hand in hand. Particularly during the great uprisings of the 1960s, the Hungarian peasants, armed with primitive weapons, defended themselves against the German swords and plates, but were mercilessly beaten up until the end of the century. Later, however, there were new riots in Molodau, Wallachia and Transylvania, which developed in the
*4 In the 18th century, the peasants' revolt against the Hungarian and German feudal lords as well as against the peasantry, which was characterized by a bloody uprising because of its
Catholic Church arrested for harshness'.

In France, where late antique conditions, above all serfdom and the colonate, continued almost until the end of the early Middle Ages, where in the i i th century a farmhand cost 38 sous, a horse zoo sous, an uprising broke out in Brittany, a real peasant war, says Friedrich Engels, and further revolts by the

follow the rural population. In the first half of the in. century, peasants in Beauvaisis burned their bishop's forest dungeon, in Bray they burned the fortifications of Poix, in Ponthieu they occupied Saint-Riquier, in Cambrésis they stoned a lord of the castle. A well-known contemporary chronicler writes: "Everyone knows how the seigneurs oppress their unfree peasants, their servants and maidservants. They are not satisfied with the usual compulsory services, but constantly and mercilessly lay claim to their property together with their person and to their person together with the property. They plunder the peasants three or four times a year over and above the fixed rents, oppress them with countless services and impose a heavy, unbearable burden on them, so that most of them are forced to leave their land and go abroad.

It is true that the High Middle Ages saw the start of an agrarian economic boom, market interdependence expanded, the social situation became more stable, and such a unique peasant achievement was achieved that the flourishing of the culture of the time can still be attributed to it. However, the differences also deepened and the French farming population was divided into two very unequal classes, the "laboureurs", who comprised ten to fifteen percent of the total population and were, so to speak, wealthy and owned more land, the farmers with plow teams, and into the lower class, the large mass of land-poor and landless - manouvriers", the day laborers (servi cottidiani), who cultivate the ßoden blofi by manual labor and again become unfree (serfs); This is quite apart from the fact that in some areas even the old serfdom (lservage) still survives.'-

A study of the population structure around i 3oo for the Cambrésis comes to the following classification: i x percent of the population are beggars, the dispossessed and homeless, 33 percent day laborers, 36 percent small farmers on the edge of subsistence, i6 percent are farmers with an average of three hectares of land, three percent are larger farmers and minor nobility. It should be borne in mind that the nobility was not a closed class, and that sometimes large farmers were given noble rank.

Much more common, however, was the downward movement. Around 1300, for example, most of the aristocrats of He-de-France hardly differed from the peasants in terms of their material status. Indeed, of the 6o aristocratic families known in the Bar-sur-Aube region of Champagne at the beginning of the 1st century, only zy remained a hundred years later, the others having mostly been absorbed into the peasantry.

THE F LAN D RIAN BUILDERS' CRI EG AND THE JAC Q UERI E

While in Germany in the i 3rd century there were prolonged building upheavals and wars in Drente, West Friesland, East Friesland, Dithmarschen or the horrific slaughter of the Stediners, in the rd century the building uprisings in Flanders, France and England {p. z3 y ff.) came to the fore.

The Flemish Insurrection, the first major popular uprising in Western Europe, began in the winter o f i 5 z3 ifi in the area around Bruges, mainly encompassed the self-confident communities of the coastal regions and lasted until i 3 z8. The peasants insisted on their traditional rights, fought in particular against the nobility, the Count of Flanders, official corruption, arbitrary taxation, excessive court fees and ignored the church's tithe demands. They demanded the monasteries' grain supplies, and some would have preferred to hang the priests. The cities also got involved, with the exception of Ghent. Castles were plundered and destroyed, nobles were forced to k i 1 l their own relatives in front of the people. There was little resistance, the cruelty was great, but after the death of the count's department holders and the replacement of their posts, the administration functioned for years.

Count Louis II of Nevers, educated at the Parisian court and married to a princess by blood, was able to assert himself from the outset with the support of France, for which he ceded Walloon Flanders. Even against the peasants, for whose poor harvests he was responsible.

When the French demanded higher levies - a common feudal practice - he was only able to win with massive French help on z3. On August 3, 3a8 at Cassel, north-east of St-Omer, he could only win with massive French help; a short but merciless slaughter, an act of annihilation. A total of Z 7>
fallen landowners, but by the local authorities of Flanders
According to well-founded estimates, more than half were killed. An equestrian statue of Louis of Nevers has adorned Paris Cathedral ever since.

Of course, the count paid for his pro-French position. During the Hundred Years' War, in the serious trade-related conflict with the pro-English Flemish cities, first and foremost Ghent, which began in 338, Louis was gradually undone; he fled to France and fell i34 6 ilt the Battle of Crécy (57 f.}.-'

Twelve years later, the first major French building revolt took place, forensically speaking the "commotion des non nobles contre les nobles".

On z8. May r3 y8, in St-Len-d'Esserent, a small village in the Beauvaisis, four plundering noblemen (chevaliers) and their i-tnappen were stabbed to death and rose up almost in a flash in the Beauvaisis, the Paris basin and in areas of Picardy, Normandy and Champagne. After the mocking name of the farmer
-Jacques Bonhomme- called -Jacquerie- for short, the movement also included citizens, craftsmen, merchants, entire towns, Senlis, Montdidier, Amiens, Laon, Rouen and others. Some nobles also joined the insurgents, whom Guillaume Cale, a militarily experienced, educated landlord, undoubtedly led, but apparently could not bring to a comprehensively organized attack. Although he was able to capture episcopal mountains, large castles, even Chantilly and Courteuil, the peasants got bogged down, stormed noble residences and broke into castles without freely attacking those of the king, as they were fighting under lily pads and far removed from any revolutionary ideas. They only fought against the injustices and oppressions of the aristocracy, the system of seigneurie rurale, accusing the landlord's network of services and levies in which they were caught up.

The increasing costs of the war, the inflation caused by the plague, the unpaid hordes of mercenaries who came to ravage them and from whom they did not protect their patrons, the increasing burdens, the increased construction of castles; even the payments for the lords to be redeemed after the Battle of Poitiers {p. 6i ff.) ultimately had to be made by the Jacques who were constantly toiling for them.

While the peasants were trying to achieve great success in haphazard individual actions, the upper classes rallied around Charles II, King of Navarre. He had had Charles d'Espagne, the French king's friend and favorite, assassinated in 35q.

He made a dangerous pact with England and, only released from the Hah at the end of i$_{1}$ $_{S}$7 , crushed the peasants with an army of knights on io. **June of** the following year with an army of knights. Plundering, burning, merciless

killing, the uprising was suppressed by the nobility, its (local) regiment was powerfully strengthened and its opponents, even those not involved in the uprising, were persecuted and punished for years to come. However: "In the end, it was not only the peasants who were defeated, but the entire non-noble population of the country" (Ehlers).

With the Jacquerie we have returned to the time of Innocent VI (i 3 yz-i 36a) and now turn to the reign of his successors.

$. CAP ITEL

THE POPES URBAN V (136z-*37). GREGOR XI (- 37*37) AND THE END OF THE AVIGNONESIAN EXILE

-He had a reputation for holiness -
Cardinal Hergenröther on Urban V.'

-... but he was not beatified until ®7° by Pius IX.
].N.D.Ke|y'

-The events in Italy c a u s e d Gregory deep concern. At the beginning of the year i 5 y6 he had sent peace negotiators to Florence and was now looking anxiously towards Bologna, which he wanted to keep at all costs. tried to preserve it. But this courageous city rose up on iq. March with the cry: 'Death to the church! The Florentines broke off the negotiations and sent
Federal troops into the liberated city, which had been liberated by its cardinal legate. On i. March, the Pope pronounced the most terrible curse ever to come out of a pope's mouth on Florence, the author of the gnnznn revolution.
He declared every Florentine citizen's property and person outlawed; he allowed the whole of Christendom to plunder Florentines wherever they lived and w e r e and to make them slaves themselves. Florence
who even then were the most beautiful flower of the Italian nation. This noble people, from w h i c h Dante, Giotto and Petrarch ... was degraded by the Pope to the rank of a horde of Negroes and abandoned to the rapacious world,
-
Ferdinand Grcgorovius.'

FO RTGE TED - K ETZER ^ -JAG D

Guillaume de Grimoard, born around i3 to at Grisac Castle (Lozère), taught canon law in Montpellier and Avignon before becoming a Benedictine abbot, i$ s• in Auxerre, 1361 İfl Marseille. In between
Clemens VI and Innocent VI, on the basis of a commission from Clement VI.
four legations in Italy.

Although never a cardinal, Grimoard was elected pope in October i3 Sz, having just b e e n nuncio at Queen Joan's Hot in Neapeł. And although this - true ... Reform Pope" (Lexicon for Theology and the Church), he made many of his compatriots and religious brothers his confidants, including Anglic de Grimoard, his brother, bishop {of Avignon) and cardinal, albeit only at the insistent request of the cardinals (WetzerfWelte). And although or because Urban V, even as pope, presented himself more as a humble monk than as a politician of force, thus the
-In continuing the "unreligious and unworldly life of a Benedictine" (Kelly), he not only fired Xurials he disliked, but he also condemned you as "heretics", as if he had followed the words of his predecessor, the mass murderer Urban II, who had only been beatified in 1951.

{VI 38o ff. esp. 3gj f.!): - We did not have those for murderers (homicidas non arbitramur), dig, burning against excommunicates, voII sacrifice for the Catholic mother, the Kírcfie, some of them dead haberi (trucidasse) -, which can also be translated as -slaughter -; in any case, a principle that prepares the doctrine of the legal "heretic" execution, enters into canon law and stands there through a millennium.

The "deeply religious and worldly-minded" pope now appealed to the bishops and inquisitors of all France on account of the "heretics", not failing to inform them where they were to be found, and many were burned as a result. To Naples, the noble Urban (Gregorovius), the mild, righteous Urban (Chamberlin), the man of honest piety (Tuchman), also sent a "special inquisitor" against the fraticelles. In Viterbo, after his agitation, nine sectarians were thrown on the scrapheap. In Germany, he made vigr Dominicans his firebrands, admonishing bishops and cities to actively support the inquisitors. His special favorite, the Dominican Walter Kerlinger, court chaplain, a friend of the KaiSer, and others had hundreds burned (Grundmann).

Charles IV, perhaps the most ardent supporter of the invasion alongside Frederick II, ordered Lucca out of the German authorities on q, and io. Jun3!9 • • Lucca from the German authorities under penalty of confiscation of assets, the Beg-
harden and Beguines as the worst enemies of the empire, as
"Heretics", excommunicated, outlaws.

With the consent of the princes, he granted the Inquisition in Germany -all the privileges, rights and freedoms that it had ever received from his predecessors in the empire, then from the kings of France, Bohemia, England, Sicily, Spain, Hungary, Poland, from all the dukes, princes and rulers of the whole of Christendom. In doing so, the emperor used the barest expressions to express his veneration for the Inquisition and the inquisitors" {Wilmans).

Greed for money continued to flourish unabated along with the lust for power. Likewise, even with regard to the high clergy, the harshness of the entry, Had erwa John XXII. on July 5, 13 2.8 had struck a patriarch, many dozens of archbishops and abbots with the ray of excommunication, he had suspended and excommunicated them simply because they had not paid on time, for the same reason, under Urban V, three documents from the years i 36§ to i 368 alone declared no less than seven archbishops, dq bishops, iz3 abbots and two archbishops to be seriously delinquent, in breach of cid and excluded them from the church community.*

DISTRIBUTED RÜ C KKEHNAc H RO M
U ND M ISSG LÜC z x K i RCH Ei'4 U N I O N

Amid the cardinals' cries of "evil pope", the
-Urban V was the first of the Avignonese church leaders to return to Italy for three years. Despite strong military protection, however, he was unable to remain in Rome. He fled to Viterbo, once again escorted by many soldiers, where his
At the same time, Cardinal Albornoz, who was irreplaceable for him, died {p.53 ff.}. In addition, Urban also saw himself threatened by unrest in Viterbo, just as
He was initially affected by the hostilities between Perugia and the Visconti, which he was able to pacify for the time being with the enormous sum of yooooo florins. However, the war with the Visconti, who openly supported Perugia against him, soon began anew.

Even with Emperor Charles IV, things did not turn out the way the pope wanted. After all, Charles, "the preeminent ruler figure of the German late Middle Ages" (Moraw), was a match for the popes like none of his predecessors had been for a long time.

The relationship with Charles' teacher Clement VI, the promoter of his election as king in 3y6, had already cooled. And even if his successor Innocent VI immediately sought better relations and Charles himself always wanted to appear as a devout Catholic and man of the Curia, he never lost sight of his advantage.

Thus, in what is probably the most striking example from the Innocent pontificate, he received the Italian royal crown in Milan from Archbishop Roberto Visconti with the consent of Pope r j y_5 and the imperial crown in Rome from the hand of Cardinal Bishop Peter of Ostia, while praying in many churches, He prayed in many churches, venerated the Schweifituch of Veronica there, the column of vultures or the head of the Anabaptist there, everything as -echt- as most things in Rome, where he also publicly repeated every oath sworn to the Curia, even if perhaps, as was once thought, only grudgingly.

The very next year, however, following consultations at the Imperial Diets of Nuremberg and Metz, the Emperor issued the Golden

Bull

According to K. Hampe, it was the most comprehensive, most precisely thought-out and most carefully edited work of law of the entire German Middle Ages. The Golden Bull regulated the right to elect a king for the first and final time under imperial law for]ach centuries, until the end of the old empire, which it conferred on a seven-member electoral college: three spiritual and four secular lords, the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier, the King of Bohemia, the Palatine Counts of the Rhine and the dukes of Saxony and Brandenburg. However, the pope's right of confirmation is not mentioned here at all, and is deliberately rendered null and void; he therefore had no right to be imperial governor during a vacancy in the throne. Innocent accepted this without any protest, despite claims to the contrary.

Already on his first journey to Rome, Charles IV had hardly interfered in the internal affairs of Italy, the power groups struggling with each other, but had achieved his goals, swallowing many an imposition and much **malice, and had** also collected all kinds of arrears, thousands, hundreds of thousands of florins, and of course once, as part of the business, had seven leaders of an alliance publicly beheaded. And in principle, his second trip to Rome was very similar. Once again, maneuvering masterfully between the parties, he took over the country, cutting taxes, fines and gifts. Again, he barely interfered in the wars in Lombardy and Tuscany; many of the Holy Father's hopes remained unfulfilled. And since the (French) c a r d i n a l s , disappointed by his exile in Italy, by the "desert of Babylon", addicted to the pomp of the court in Avignon, kept pestering him.

he traveled there again in 5eptembeF 137 , after which they resided in France for another seven years, Naturally hard Urban, according to self-assessment, no banal po!itical reason or the

He was brought back under pressure from the cardinals, sonderri "Sanctus Spiritus -, the Holy Spirit, who also led him here, as he explained before his departure, all -ad honorem Sancte Ecclesie", for the glory of the Holy Church.

The undertaking was just as **successful** as his so-called church union, the reunification of East and West.

Although the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos, threatened by constant civil wars, by opposing emperors (son and grandson), vehement religious disputes (Hesychasmus), and not least by the Turkish danger, submitted to him, the "exuberant crescent" (Cardinal Hergenröther), who on z. MÄfZ•3s4 Gallipolis, the first permanent bridgehead in Europe.

On the steps of St. Peter's in October i 3öq, the Emperor knelt before the High Priest three times, kissed his foot, hand, and hand and was personally - out of pure despair at fate
of his empire - Catholic. On October i 8 - 36g he wrote a confession of faith to this effect - and mufite still in the Ja-
He was also held for weeks in the debtor's prison in Venice on his return journey and was finally degraded to a tributary vassal of the Ottoman ruler Sultan Murad I, to whom he had to render military service.

However, no Byzantine clerics were present at the emperor's xapitula- tion, none converted, and Urban flattered himself that he was the founder of the church union. He had sent no less than i3 bulls with corresponding admonitions to both Greeks and Latins on November 8, but without any offer of help for the Greek capital. And when, at the beginning of the year
res ii7o the West to liberate the now Catholic monarchy.
When the Pope called for the liberation of Byzantium and its empire, no one in the West followed him, not a single Latin came. For the rest, the popes often promised the Greek Orthodox help, but without ever providing any significant assistance. They considered this church not only schismatic, but also heretical, -inferior in all respects- tde Vries), and envisioned a union as little other than assimilation, submission.

Even one of Urban's adventures, which a Mainz chronicle calls the "light of the world" (lux mundi), was only apparently successful and became the bloodiest, the crossing against the Turks.

° . A G LUCKY HAN DSTR EI CH ^MnSS ENM O
RDIN LEXANDRIA

The efforts of his predecessors for a crusade, this repeatedly planned, repeatedly desired great battle, had already failed. And Urban, on whose "deep personal freshness" the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche insists, insisted on such a war from the very beginning of his term of office with the Western Indian rulers.

Urban did much for his noble goal, he sought peace, peace everywhere, peace in the Hundred Years' War as well as peace in the particularistically torn Italy. He even met Bernabõ Visconti, who had begun to reconquer Bologna, which had meanwhile been taken over by the Church. And as late as 1363, he had spewed venom and bile against him, hurled curses and condemnations, proclaimed excommunication and preached the cross. But suddenly the "unworldly monarch" began secret negotiations with his opponent Cardinal Androin de la Roche behind his general's back and replaced Cardinal Albornoz with his opponent Cardinal Androin de la Roche. He made peace with his former enemy and paid him huge sums of money for the %umption of Bologna - but not out of a desire for peace, no, in anticipation of a great, a greater war.

Peter I of Lusignan was operating in the Latin East at the time
l-3 5 -*369 j in adventurous aggression against the Turks,
Combining the Christian and the commercial. The King of Cyprus, Jerusalem and finally Armenia came into conflict with the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. For years, from i 36 I/ *i 3 6z* to3 5. he was caught between England and Venice,
France and Poland through Europe, collecting money and propagating his war (in fact, the Lusignans had already been at war since Urban II, since zoq6, on deu crusades priisent).

So Urban V, already politically ambitious in the Orient, proclaimed a new crusade against the Turks in April i3 63, whereby he also hoped, a pious dream, to use the bands of soldiers freed up by the peace in Upper Italy as crusaders against the Turks.

the -unbelievers.

A united Europe!

How many a strategist wished for it. Even under the Holy Emperor Charles, there was a nice approach to this and more than that. In the late Middle Ages, crusade projects, de facto political plans for a military federation of Europe for Frederick's army, proposals for its almost radical reorganization, as it were, were also constantly being cherished. The important Austrian historian sees in it - in the J -< *96q - precursors of the entente of -9*4. the League of Nations, the UN and NATO ... The common basic idea is that the nations of Western Europe should be militarily and politically unified and form a community of peace internally in order to be able to wage a constant defensive struggle externally against the 'infidels', the 'peace-breakers', the 'non-democrats'."

A defensive battle? At the beginning of the third millennium of Christian catastrophic reckoning, does not everything rather p o i n t to a series of the most daring offensives, raids and raids by only orthodox warriors of God, self-proclaimed warriors for the

• Good versus "evil", basically not so different from the past, today's incomparably more dangerous risk aside?- In the summer of i 36 y, Peter of Lusignan set sail from Venice with one hundred and sixty-five ships - the largest expedition since the Third Crossing {VI i r. ch.). And the -most successful- such undertaking of the entire century.J

The king's companions: the chancellor Philippe de Mézieres, who had been in military service for a long time and was also a propagandist of the Holy War, and his friend Peter de Thomas (Pierre Thomassius), titular patriarch of Koiistantinople, apostolic legate for the crusade and equally "distinguished by holiness of walk, oratory and eloquence" {Cardinal Hergenrörher), indeed - a saint; feast i y. Fe- bruary. (Cardinal Elie de Talleyrand, originally intended for this office (p. 6r), who had already taken the cross together with the French regent Philip Vl. in Z336, had died in i36q). Only King Peter and his two main advisors knew the

The rest of the crew only found out about it on the high seas to prevent any betrayal.

On q. October r 36d, the victim was sighted, landed the following day and, according to the Catholic papal historian Kühnei, "attacked unsuspecting Alexandria with an army of marauders, where unprecedented orgies of murder were committed, although the Sultanate of the Egyptian Mamelukes had long lived in peace with the Christians and had never taken any action against the Kingdom of Cyprus. The culture of Alexandria perished like the culture of Constantinople a hundred and sixty years earlier. The king and the government watched impassively as well over five thousand Christians, Jews and Muslims were deported with the immeasurable plunder and sold as slaves. The Pope and the West ignored these atrocities, with the Pope even triumphantly proclaiming his victory.

No wonder. -He had a reputation for holiness (Cardinal Hergenröther).

Another source: -The victory was celebrated with unprecedented ferocity and cruelty. Two and a half centuries of Holy War had taught the Crusaders no humanity. Only in Jerusalem in the year ioqq and in Constantinople in the year rzoq had similar mass murders taken place. The Muslims
themselves had not been so cruel in Antioch or Acre. The wealth of Alexandria was immense, and the victors simply lost their minds at the sight of so much booty.

For seven days the Knights of Christ, led by a Catholic king {a few years later his own Catholic barons murdered him), a Catholic chancellor and a Catholic saint, killed and robbed. They did not spare Muslims, Jews or local Christians. The whole city reeked of the corpses of people and animals - his lucky stroke of luck - notes Catholic Seppelt, who "aroused great joy in the West", and discreetly spares us the details, the collateral damage so to speak: looted mosques, churches, destroyed tombs, burnt-down public buildings, warehouses, even destroyed facades of Omani Europeans. The only important thing - the stolen goods. The

Christian hordes sank many of them while still en route, saving the overloaded ships and themselves. Yes, a lucky coup. Alexandria was quickly lost again and *2/pern* itself soon became the "first land of Christendom".

Only this loss is regretted by many Romans of older and more recent times. Nothing of the massacre, the giant robbery. With Cardinal Her- genröther, no object changes hands, not a drop of blood flows. He commemorates - what a classic paradigm of Catholic historical falsification - one single dead person back then - and whose?: the excellent legate who, worn down by his troubles and sorrows, died on January *6,* i 366). And, concluding the case, immediately adds: -The pope had not lacked efforts to provide the company with the proper support." Much later he also assures Seppelt and repeats, as if he had something good to report,
had "eagerly promoted the crusade since the beginning of his pontificate".

Two other standard works of Catholic historiography, the
The old eleven-volume encyclopedia by WetzerfWelte and the new handbook of ecclesiastical histories, which is barely three pages each on Urban V, completely omit both the slaughter in Alexandria and the crusade, the most successful of all the crusades of the xqth century, according to Aziz S. Atiya. century. On the other hand, the more recent Catholic work - "finally again a historiography of great style" (Johannes Spörl) - emphasizes the monastic aspect of Urban, his, how important, retention of the monastic tradition, -even more his monkish way of life-, and that he was a "strongly inner man" who merely, yes, unfortunately, fell for "the allure of political power". But blood did not flow at that time either. And - 7O Pius IX beatifies the desk murderer.

This is how salvation history is made.

Urban V, whose funeral monument was liquidated by the French Revolution, has often been praised for his "saintly" life - although one can hardly be praised for anything worse. And a much more powerful mass murderer, Urban II, was also beatified. {Vl 33q ff., 380 ff. be5. 383 f.), although

only after a period of shame and respite of almost eight hundred years. But Leo XIII concluded quite logically: if Urban V, then all the more so Urban 11.

The canonization of both is still pending.

GREG OR XI. FIGHTS JO HN NYC LI F AND OTHER " HERETICS

After the death of Urban, the new pope, the 4-year-old Cardinal Pİerre Roger de Beaufort, who called himself Gregory XI, was elected as his successor in just two days. Born r 3 zq Zu Rosiers- d'Egletons (dép. Corrèzel as the son of Count Guillaume de Beau- fort, he quickly made a career for himself. At the age of eleven
he became canon of Rodez and Paris at the age of nine, according to some already at eighteen or seventeen, and was made cardinal by his nepotistic uncle Clement VI, who also conferred many benefits on him. And among the zi purple bearers appointed by him w e r e , quite typically, i S close compatriots or Frenchmen, not least his relatives. (In total, the Avignonese popes c r e a t e d 13 Frenchmen as cardinals from i 3o y to 1375,
4 Italians, 5 Spaniards and z English).

After decades of employment at the Curia in Avignon, Gregory, who was expected to have a long and successful pontificate, simply continued many of his predecessors.

Of course, this again included the "heretic -]agd, the "harsh action of the Inquisition initiated by him" (Seppelt), The pope, who according to his apologists was pious, kind, gentle, humble, was appointed ar-*3 July•37• for the dioceses of Cologne, MainZ, Utrecht,
Salzburg, Magdeburg appointed five Dominicans as inquisitors and banned
any obstruction of the same by the princes. The Order had proven itself in Germany, Emperor Ka2'l IV. E36 'fiber that again
-blessed'- work of the Dominican inquisitor Kerling, who had seven - heretics- burned in Nordhausen, for example, confesses his great joy and beíohløn, the houses of the heretics in lnquisitions-

dungeon. Gregory gave him the highest praise for this in a bull dated JUfli 13 7-, just a few months after he took office.

In France too, according to the annals of the year• 373 , the Pope wielded the sickle of apostolic severity against the -heretics- and with -pious zeal- incited the -forces to eradicate this evil'-. The Franciscan Inquisitor Lorelli, -our beloved son-, sent by him, is said to have been in the Alpine valleys
Savoy and the Dauphirié killed the Waldensians 'by the hundreds, in Grenoble they reduced i 5o people to ashes in a single day'*.

Gregory XI was the first pope to turn against the English philosopher and theologian John Wyclif, probably the harshest church critic of his century. Born around i 3y o near York, then working at Oxford University, the -greatest heresiarch of the later Middle Ages- was still regarded by British Protestants in the i6th century as the -morning star of the Reformation". century as the "Morning Star of the Reformation". Indeed, he had a far-reaching influence, early on on Bohemia (where more of his manuscripts are to be found than in England), not least on Luther's predecessor Jan Hus, who defended Wyclif's work in his university writings and quoted long passages from it, while the Archbishop of Prague ordered the radical reformer's books to be burned {p. zqz f.).

John Wyclif, who scolded the official church - the religion of the fat cows - early on, became increasingly radical with increasing insight, like some church contradictions. -If there were a hundred popes-, he teaches, -and all the religious monks were cardinals, one could only agree with them in matters of faith insofar as they agreed with the Holy Scriptures.

Based on the Bible, to which alone he recognizes the highest authority, which he also has translated into English, and supported by the approval of the court, the nobility and the bourgeoisie, the
• Doctor evangeticus" criticized the egregious secularization of the clergy, its lust for power, greed, chaotic administration, the decline of monasticism; he fought against most of the sacraments, the doctrine of purgatory, the infallibility of the pope, who for him was no

The successor of Peter, but of Constantine, is the true Antichrist. Wyclif declared celibacy to be unbiblical, as well as the ordination of priests, the rules of religious orders, auricular confession, the veneration of saints and religions, pilgrimages and indulgences. He calls for the dissolution of church property, the expropriation of the Catholic Church, the control of the clergy, he rejects war and violence. In short, he propagated a return to the ideals of the apostolic era, of early Christianity.

Even before the militant moralist, pacifist and philanthropist had steadily intensified his polemic against orthodoxy and completed the cata- logue of his guilty verdicts, the pope sent five bullets to the king, bishops and university. He then condemned Wyclif's ten theses as heretical on May 13, 77
and ordered his arrest and summons to appear before the Roman Inqui-
sition Tribunal.

Covered, however, by Oxford, the university, by his powerful patron John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and the influential Queen Mother Joan of Kerit, Ket- zero was spared the worst. However, he was interrogated and condemned at synods in London {Earthquake Synod) and Oxford. And after his expulsion from the city in 138 i and the dissemination of his writings, he lived paralyzed in his parish in Lutterworth
{Lincolnshire} until he succumbed to a second stroke on December 3 i.

•i 4 succumbed. After the continued rejection of his sentences from London to Prague, after the compilation of z*7* rtümern i ą x x in Oxford, after the incriminating of all his works *4-3 by John XXIII, after the repeated burning of his books, too
on Pope Maftin's behest*4• excavated his Skeløtt and
burned, the rest scattered in the river Swift."

RETURN TO RO M, BLuTaADER ANd BLU M EN

Gregory XI, although a Frenchman, soon decided, probably from the beginning of his reign, to return the papacy to Rome. Since i)yz, there have been increasing references to this, including official ones. The king, the duke of An- jon, the numerous councillors and most of the cardinals endeavored to keep them at bay. But the Romans admonished them, and St. Catherine of Siena. St. Catherine of Siena, this highly blessed, extraordinary woman, who propagated a crusade, the liberation of Jerusaíem, but also (since her sixth year) had visions and Jesus' foreskin, donated by himself, although invisible, She, Xatharina, along with Francis of Assisi, is still the patron saint of Italy today, so this young woman courted the pope in writing from Siena and orally in Avigrion. And also the hÍ. Birgitta drãngie, dràng from Rome, prophesied Gregory's death if he remained in France, and died herself in the summer of - 373-

In the meantime, however, the wars in Upper and Central Italy, the Sieges and conquests, the advance and return marches alternated, a truce and a campaign followed one another, alliances, fronts and dependencies changed.

The supremacy of the Visconti had been lost to EiribuBen when the popes under Cardinal Albornoz gained considerable ground, particularly in the Margraviate of Ancona and in Romagna, not least thanks to large sums of money provided by the Pope. The Curia had hoped for further war victories against the Visconti, who were conspiring with the Witrelsbachs, from Charles IV of Luxembourg. However, neither during his coronation in $35 nor during his Italian campaign

i 368 he met these expectations. He was hardly in a position to and also too clever to mess with deu Visconti, against whom

In October 37 '- Viterbo, numerous dynasties and cities, including Queen Joanna I of Naples and the Pope, formed an alliance from which, however, the hitherto Pope-loyal, indeed the

Curia especially connected Florence in July i 37 s wiC-dered

and then, for his part, led an alliance of many communities of Tuscaria and parts of the ecclesiastical state against the papal power, continued to call passionately for freedom, outraged, among other things, by the Cardinal-Legale's ban on the export of foodstuffs from neighboring Romagna during the

Famine of I3 7/*375 Instead of fighting the famine, the Holy Father sent an army of Breton mercenaries to fight Florence.'[4]

With Gregory's accession to power, an increasingly anti-clerical mood had spread, as usually caused by the Church itself, as a result of the severe oppression by t h e papal envoys and rectors, then called pastors of the Church, above all through outrageous exploitation, mafilos of excessive subsidy demands, incessant war taxes.

In Perugia, for example, since the late fall zi7o again papal

The legate Gérard of Puy, Abbot of Montmajeur, led an arbitrary regiment. He terrorized the people, sent them to build fortresses, into exile, extorted money, spilled blood. And just as he sought to exile Arezzo and Siena, the cardinal legate Wilhelm Noellet operated from Bologna with a band of mercenaries, his "holy company", against Florence, which, however, bought off this holy band for r3o ooo gold florins, under the cry "Freedom! Preiheit!" and united around eighty towns in Tuscany to form an anti-curial league. And while the fire of the uprising spread to the Papal States, almost all of its castles displayed the blood-red banner of revolt, while in Perugia the people shouted: "Death to the abbot and the pastor!", while in Bologna they shouted: -'Death to the Church!' and expelled the cardinal legate, the £lorentines dragged the inquisition building, sold the confiscated church property through an eight-member college, called by popular wit -Otto Santi- {the Eight Saints), and took priests to the dungeon or the gallows."

The pope, who had already been criticized for the aggressive policy of the vis-

conti imposed the interdict on them and preached a cross against them, also a papal tithe imposed on the lands of Deuiscli-

The bishop of Florence, who had announced the so-called Visconti tithe, which extended across Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and Scandinavia, now hurled the ray of banishment at Florence. He abolished the bishop's see, the city rights and forbade all clerics to reside there. But that was not enough. He forbade every Christian to rob and enslave the Florentines wherever they were, and in France as in England this generous permission to satisfy their rapacity was gladly made use of, while Pisa and Genoa refused and also fell victim to the interdict. Trade and banking in the Tuscan capitals came to a standstill in most countries, and many Florentine assets were confiscated.

Gregory's beadles also took barbaric action in Italy.

Two of his swashbucklers organized bloodbaths. The Cardinal of Ostia, Count of Romagna, brought an unpaid band of mercenaries to Faenza, the bishop's see on the Via Emilia in Romagna, where they held themselves harmless, committed atrocious atrocities, robbed the town, and partly killed and partly drove out the inhabitants.

The second, even worse massacre was caused by Cardinal Robert of Geneva, whom the Bishop of Florence compared to Herod and Nero and who was soon to become the antipope Clement VII. Before his own departure, Gregory had sent the prelate off with 6ooo horsemen and sooo foot soldiers, whereupon they devastated the area of Bologna terribly. And while he, Gregory, was already residing in Rome, the Cardinal of Geneva was in Cesena, a city that had already rebelled several times against the harsh rule of the papal rector.

she rose up again in desperation on i. February377 and killed part of the garrison, yoo mercenaries of the Cardinal. He summoned the band of Faenza, ordered bloody revenge and left Sooo
Stabbing down Gesenaten."

Gregor's journey to ROm 137* *377 had not been under a good star. All kinds of bad omens accompanied them. In Avignon, the horse refused to carry him, later the sea raged, swallowing up ships and the Bishop of Luni. The Florentines warned Rome not only once and urgently against taking on the oppressor of freedom, the bringer of wars. But on i4 . Jä-

•<*° *377 Gregory XI made his triumphal entry into Rome three days later, but not according to the ideas of St. Peter and St. Catherine, only with a crucifix and singing psalms,
but high on RoB, with zooo warriors under Raimund von Turenne, flanked by noble Romans, danced around by white-clad buffoons, cheered by the people, showered with flowers, sung by priests, a **pope** who ended the seventy-year exile, who finally came, according to Ferdinand Gregorovius, -to return the papal turn to the city forever and to take freedom forever.

After the bloodbath in Cesena, outrage in Italy ran high. According to a contemporary chronicler, the people no longer believed in the pope or the cardinals, because they were "things to lose faith in". Florence, the militant republic, appealed to the princes of all Christendom. But the Florentine League began to crumble under the industrious machinations of Gregory, who pushed for peace here and war there. The costs of the war, of course, weighed heavily on both sides, even if Florence was less aĺs the **pope,** who nevertheless agreed to a peace congress under the chairmanship of Bernabò Visconti in the same month.
died, km *March 7,• 37 , after he is said to have regretted his return to Rome on his deathbed, influenced by the prophecies of his wives.

However, his end resulted in the bitter dispute between the French and Italian cardinals and the outbreak of the great schism that spread throughout the Church."

5. CHAPTER

THE GREAT OCCIDENTAL SCHISM (1378-1417 OR 1423) WAR OF THE POPES AGAINST EACH OTHER

-The dual papacy divided Christendom partly along political lines and partly along legal lines in two o%diences . That there were recognized religious personalities, including saints, in heathen camps who were with all their energy for their pope, shows that there was no papa indubitatus {K. A. Fink), that both you hisrnrisclie Frsge risch the circumstances of the 'i ahl and recognition as the cononistic problems already were insoluble for contemporaries. Thus the schism was one of the most serious crises of the Middle Ages ...- Hermann Tüchle'

-The consequence of the schism was a tremendous confusion and disorder: mutual excommunication of the popes and their followers, increased needs for papal courtly households, even greater financial pressure on Christendom, disputes over bishop's chairs and other ecclesiastical positions, which were often filled twice, frightening doubts as to who was the rightful pope, bishop, etc.-.
E. Cancer

"Grej;or and Benedict ignored the Council's sentiments and the new Pope Alexander V (i qoq/i o) was recognized by the greater part of Christendom, but not universally: The 'wicked duality' had become one
-It has become a 'cursed trinity'."
Heribert Müller'

A MoN srRu u uxD EIP4 MASSES tO R D ER
wERnxx Pzrsz

Unlike the papal schismata under Henry IV or Frederick I, the Great Western Schism was not a schism caused by secular rulers or imposed from outside, but a schism that arose from within the Church itself; it was not sparked by a dogmatic problem, but solely by the question of the rightful pope. And unlike the relatively short-lived schism that erupted with the double election of Innocent II and Anacletus II, the

Schism i iiţ 4Z8 et seq.), which for the first time dragged the entire Western world into sympathy, but ended after eight years with the death of Anaklet, the Great Western Schism, which also gripped the whole of Europe, lasted for a long time.

The Rural Schism lasted almost forty, according to some even fifty-two years with no less than seven antipopes - one of the most serious ecclesiastical upheavals in the entire Middle Ages, a time of sometimes almost unprecedented crises and riots, with often hardly anyone knowing who was pope, who was antipope, and even three popes ruling at the same time.

The tumult began soon after Gregory Xl. death, began with the

7 The conclave convened in the Vatican on April i37, the first in Rome for75 years. The militia had been deployed and the city sealed off to prevent the cardinals from fleeing. Six had been left in Avignon anyway. The remaining i6 were divided into three groups, but the majority were French. However, the Roman people, fearing a return of the Curia to France, no longer wanted a Frenchman as head o f Christendom.

So there was a sense of disaster in the air, literally a mood of turmoil. A

Shortly beforehand, lightning struck the chosen meeting place of the high college. People made noise, threatened, shouted "Romano o Italiano lo volemo!", the bells rang out. The crowd finally forced its way into the conclave, where the frightened prelates had elected Bartolomeo Prignano, the sixty-year-old Archbishop of Bari and Vice-Chancellor of the Curia, in the night of April 8th after several rounds of voting that could no longer be reconstructed with certainty. However, they did not have the courage to admit this because the Romans wanted one of their own as pope. So the cardinals hurriedly dressed the aged Tebal-deschi in papal robes, placed the trembling man in the papal chair and, scattering on all sides, some as far as the Campagna, made their way to safety, while the invading mob squirmed at the feet of the pope, who, although a true Roman, was certainly a fake, and almost crushed him with enthusiasm.

The next day, however, the purple-wearers who had remained in Rome enthroned the Calabrese Bartolomeo Prignano in the Vatican, and the Romans, now relaxed, agreed with him, the Italian after all.

Only the cardinals no longer showed up with their election.

Archbishop Barrolomeo Prignano, now Urban Vl. {*J7 -* 3 sl. from only a middling position in the clerical hierarchy to the head of the Christendom quite unexpectedly, obviously had considerable problems in managing the colossal career boost.

Previously a useful functionary, an administrative talent, thrifty, conscientious, willing to serve, he now suddenly offers a completely different character, a hypertrophic self-confidence that tolerates no contradiction. He showed increasingly frequent psychopathic traits, extreme irascibility, ruthless arrogance. He even treated princes abusively, insultingly, as well as his cardinals, who felt no less than princes and lived truly princely lives, almost every one of them pars pro toto with a hundred horses and income from up to twelve bishoprics and monasteries.

As early as the first xonsistory, Urban - who had never become a cardinal despite his long activity in the Curia - criticized the feudal style of his superiors, their selfishness, their unwillingness to reform, their vain and pompous behavior, in short, he offended them to such an extent that Cardinal Robert of Geneva approached him with the remark: -You have not treated the cardinals today with the respect they received from your predecessors. I tell you in truth, as you diminish our honor, so shall we diminish yours.

With his rigid, autocratic course of confraternization, Urban Vl. quickly turned most of the cardinals against him, even though they had first elected him, crowned him, announced him to the world as canonically appointed and respected him accordingly. However, they soon found him intolerable and considered him incompetent, if not weak-minded. They moved to Anagni at the end of May, beginning of June, feigning the summer heat, and there they reviled the pope, who in turn went to Tivoli, as an intruder, a tyrant, an apostate, an antichrist, and dismissed him from the community. They annulled his forced elevation under pressure from the Romans, declared the apostolic throne vacant and elected a new pope on zo. September i 3y8, relying on the support of the French and Neapolitan courts, they elected Cardinal Robert of Geneva, the - Blutmanri -, the
-executioner of Cesena -, to the Pope'.

Cl'in'ns Vic. (i3'g-'i94i. as the 36-year-old called himself, was limping and cross-eyed, inclined towards the military and war, more versed in politics. He loved lavish lifestyles and pompous court etiquette, and spoke French, Italian, German and Latin. As the son of Count Amadeus III of Geneva, he came from the high nobility, was related to many princes, the French king and the German emperor, and was already patronized as a child by his uncle Gui de Boulogne, the Cardinal Bishop of Porto (who sought to gain the Kingdom of Naples for his house). A bishop at the age of iq and a cardinal at zq, Robert, as legate **of Gregory XI,** organized a number of campaigns with his Breton mercenary troops.

massacre in the war against Florence, especially the bloody deed of Cesena (p. i §3). And with his election as pope, the Church itself evoked the Great Western Schism, the struggle between the representatives of Christ against each other that lasted almost forty years and further diminished the so-called moral authority of the papacy, which also became highly political due to the partisanship of the sovereigns.
en.°

The individual Christian countries joined one side or the other either immediately or after a long period of neutrality, following detailed investigations, trials and consultations with universities and Christians; some also changed sides, some even several times, such as Naples and Portugal.

Under Charles V, France soon declared its allegiance to Clement VII, whose recognition the king made obligatory for all his subjects, as Clement was not wrongly considered to be a cowardly tool, the servant of the servants of the French rulers, as Nicholas of Clémanges sneered, a theologian and reformer who later changed sides. In the north, Scotland, as an opponent of England and friend of France, declared itself in favor of Clement, in the south Burgundy, which was dependent on France, as well as Savoy, and on Cyprus the French prince of the French.
The House of Lusignan (p. 44). There is a long period of hesitation on the Pyrenean peninsula, but then the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Navarre also join Clement VII.

Urban VI remained almost alone due to the defection of the cardinals to his opponent. Shortly before his election, however, he appointed zq new cardinals, and now most of Italy and the German Empire stood by him, both under Charles IV, who died in the late fall of i 3y8, and under his son and successor Wenceslas, who founded a "Urbansbund" with the four Rhenish electors. England, an enemy of France, also took Urban's side, as did Hungary, the East and the North, i.e. more than half of Europe.

However, the obediences of the two popes were not only divided according to state, the rift sometimes went through them. Thus Germany's south-western border areas, including the dioceses of Styria, Basel and later, secretly, Salzburg, stood by Clemens.

If Duke Leopold m. of Austria with Steyermark, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, with the Windisch Mark, Istria, Feltre and Belluno, also with his Swabian and Alsatian possessions, while his brother Duke Albrecht 111. with Lower and Upper Austria joined Urban VI. and after the (in the House of
Austria unforgotteni) battle death of Leopold*3 against the Confederates at Sempach also brought his lands to the Roman Curia.

So the schism even went through the families of the nobility. But it also affected the universities and the religious orders. The Franciscans, for example, had one general of the order who stood up for Urban Vl, another for Clement VII, and their respective successors accordingly. Similarly, in the Dominican order, one magister general fought for Urban, another for Clement.

However, dioceses were also torn apart, so that two bishops fought for a bishopric, each of them the paladin of a different pope. i 38 After a double election in Basel, Clement VII confirmed Werner Schaler as bishop, while Urban VI confirmed Imer von Ramstein. Two archbishops of Mainz, Louis of Meissen as Urban's candidate and Adolf 1st of Dassau as Clement's protégé, were vying for the archbishopric of Mainz - and so a serious war broke out .... ." And it did not stop at one. They robbed, expelled, confiscated goods and income, devastated with fire and sword. -If one wanted to describe all the suffering and torment that the lands on the Rhine, Main, Neckar, Tauber and their neighboring regions had to endure as a result of these wars, it would be a long story" (Chronicon Moguntinum).

In short, as we have always been accustomed to confusion, confusion, poison and bile, misery and death in the Lord's pure mountain, this schism proved to be a particularly visible fatality, whereby it increased the piquancy or embarrassment that noble church lights, indeed veritable saints, were fighting on every front. Urban VI was supported by St. Catherine of Siena, who had already advised Gregory XI (p. rd i), a more than shrewd figure. A visionary since early childhood, she sometimes, in her cell, even in the church, stirred up whole clans of devils.

-Mystical marriage with Christ, with her husband - and listened to the word and advice of this person, tyranies, heads of gangs, republics, kings; it was an inspired, deeply Christian time. The cardinals of Clement called her a devil in human form. She died at the age of 33 and was buried by Pius H., the father of several lost -natural-
Children (p. *7 and, even more than they, dominated by crusade mania until the last Aiemzug, canonized.

St. Vicente Ferrer, preacher-general of the Dominicans, a known anti-Semite and generally one of the leading church leaders during the Great 5chism, was passionately committed to CÍemens VII. He fought side by side with his Spanish legate Pedro de Luna, the later Pope Benedict XIII, and persuaded John I, King of Aragon, to join his kingdom.

i i 71 to Urban's antipope, whose legitimacy to
he declared to be necessary for salvation.

IR l EG U M NEAPEL
URBAN VI. HAS ITS OWN CAR D **INA LS**FO
LDERED A ND M A NAGED

In the meantime, both popes had long since begun to use all means and possibilities and all their apostolic power to finish each other off. By means of apostolic letters, they had demonstrated their legitimacy to Christendom, had their cardinals and envoys proclaim them as Peter's legitimate successors and, of course, excommunicated each other along with all their followers, and finally, always in the most salvific way, sent their mercenary armies after each other.

When Clement's Breton troops, under his own nephew, Count Montjoie, advanced on Rome in April 1379 *- during the relief of the Angels' Burgh, they were beaten up by Urban's troops under Alberico da Barbiano, the founder of the Company of St. George, a school of the condottieri, near Marino - the

Battle of two Holy Fathers in front of the Eternal City. In the same month, Castel Sant'Angelo, *of* great military *importance* throughout medieval Rome, came to Urban, Emperor Hadrian's J\dau- soleum (d. i 38), from which and on which cannons had fired for the first time and ruined it so badly that its demolition was considered.

But while Urban forced down an uprising in Rome, Clement could no longer hold out in Anagni. He sought protection from the Queen of Naples and then, beset by Urban's followers there too, fled at the end of ivlai via Gaeta to Avignon, where he was received on tenth August.

J<-' *37s the remaining **cardinals** received him with homage and he has resided there ever since.'-.

In Italy, the power struggle between the two popes was combined with that of the Hungarian and French Angevins over the Kingdom of Naples, a war of succession.

On the one side stood Clement VII and the brother of the French king (Charles V), Duke Louis of Anjou, who was adopted by the childless Queen Joan of Naples, while Clement gave him almost the entire Papal States for a projected kingdom of the Adriatic (regnum Adrie). On the other hand, Urban

VI and the Queen's brother-in-law, Charles III of Anjou-Durazzo, a year-old man with a passion for art but also political ambitions, whom King Louis of Hungary supported because he wanted Charles, from the branch of the Hungarian Angevins, to succeed him, and thus

hoped for the unification of Hungary and Naples.

Pope Urban also wanted to give Charles of Duraoo t h e kingdom of Naples as overlord, whose queen Joan, from the French Angevin branch and a novice to Clement VII, had a boundless attachment to him, Urban - "he trembled with impatience to remove her from her bloodstained throne" {Gregorovius) -, especially as he had also intended to give at least a third of her kingdom to a nephew as his own principality of Sa- lemo-Capua. In pursuit of his goals, the Pope deposed more than three major bishops and abbots, tortured some and burned the Archbishop of Salerno as a heretic. He financed the years of wars that broke out in the process with, among other things, ecclesiastical art treasures - not only entire saints

from Roman

The gold of the churches of the world was melted in the furnace. And, of course, he passed off his wars as crusades and also granted a crusade indulgence, even with an astonishingly high penalty for sin. A contemporary reports: "An incredible amount of money, gold, silver, jewels, necklaces, cups and spoons came together, especially from the women's world. Rich and poor alike gave, according to their status and beyond their station, so that both their living and deceased loved ones and they themselves would be redeemed from their sins. For absolution was refused if they did not give according to their wealth and status.

Urban's favorite Charles of Durazzo won at first. He became king, was crowned in Rome and in July i 38z had his sister-in-law, the queen, strangled with a silk rope in Muro Castle (cf. p. i }7
and the corpse - a tried-and-tested political visual
The Pope of Naples had extended his obedience by one kingdom by exhibiting the Pope's crown for seven days in the church of Santa Chiara in Neapolis. Later, Charles III of Anjou-Durazzo himself fell out with Urban, who also proclaimed a cross against him. The king was excommunicated, declared deprived of his kingdom and liquidated; in February i 386, he succumbed to the consequences of a brutal assassination attempt, w i t h Gifr finishing him off.

Prior to this, however, King Charles had plotted with some cardinals against the pope and wanted to place him under the control of a regency council for his incompetence, perhaps even depose him or even burn him as a heretic. But Urban, who got wind of the plan only a few days before it was carried out, had six cardinals put into a cistern on January i i 385 in the Hohenstaufen castle of Nocera near Salerno, where he resided and which belonged to his nephew - all of them (according to the historian of the schism Dietrich von Niem, an official in the papal chancery under Urban, who was close to him) blameless. For days they shivered with hunger and cold and were tortured under the supervision of the Genoese pirate Basilio, known for his hatred of the clergy, while the Holy Father, walking on the terrace of the castle, prayed aloud to incite the torturers to greater zeal with his presence.

When the pope then fled with the chained prelates from Nocera, where King Charles had had him imprisoned with troops and promised gold florins to whoever delivered Urban to him alive or dead, the pope, who was known to be a lawful pope, killed the bishop of Aquila, who had aroused his suspicion, and left him lying on the road. And when his cardinals sought to escape their misery, he executed them too on By. December 1386 in Genoa, perhaps sunk in the sea or, according to another version, in a pit of unslaked lime.

Urban VI continued the struggle for Naples unabated even in his last years for nepotistic reasons, and this so much, with such pathological stubbornness, that he had hardly any other thought that he almost completely lost sight of most of the things that should or ought to have interested him as pope and priest. In the year before his death, he wanted to go to Naples with an army, but got as far as Ferentino with only soo pure blofi and died on i $. October i139 n Rome, possibly from poison.
Until the very end, he had rejected all attempts to end the schism.
leans.

The following popes also all felt that they were in the right and, whether in Avignon, Rome or elsewhere, were very keen to remain pope. It must be nice to bear responsibility for humanity, as they say today, especially high, supreme responsibility.

SAPST BONI FAZ IX. i 3 8 q- I § 4)
LÄSSY GE LD U M D KOPFE ROLLEN

His name was Pietro Tomacelli, he was outwardly stately, of Neapolitan nobility and had been a cardinal since x38 x Urban VI, whom he succeeded. He continued the schism. He protected Naples against the French desire for annexation, secured the Papal States threatened with collapse, liquidated the republican regiment, defeated rebellious Rome and also controlled the surrounding territory. As a politician, the uneducated but realistic, energetic,

The pope, who was also eloquent and outgoing, often had good censures, especially in relation to his so-called

Erfolg.[13]

As with Urban and so many others, there w a s hardly any time for "spiritual matters". Boniface appeared more in the presence of bodyguards and militiamen than priests, and it is said that he even conducted government business, signatures, mostly financial, during mass - carpe diein!

His nepotism reached lonely records.

He provided the two brothers with princely support. They were given the most important and lucrative offices in the Papal States. He made Brother John rector of the patrimony, the Duchy of Spoleto and the Sabina with its capital Rieti (the regular summer residence of the popes in the late Middle Ages alongside Viterbo and Anagni). Brother John was also given the fief of Sora, which had become a royal city under Charles I of Anjou {VII Register). Brother Andreas Tomacelli, his right-hand man, advanced to become regent and margrave of Ancona. He fortified his fiefs of Narni and the towns, ruthlessly extorted a further war tax from the completely impoverished people and had the commander of his own troops, the condortiere Boldrino da Panicale, assassinated at a banquet to which he had invited him. Such glorious deeds apparently r a n in the family.

More than fifty of his steffes were now richly endowed; al- lein a Tomacelli are listed in the papal registers, and a further z 5 can still be traced during the Holy Father's lifetime. But that is not all. Numerous families related to the Tomacelli were also included in the care. Including, of course, the relatives of the mother, "La madre", who kept her own farm in Rome, touchingly cared for the illegitimate offspring of the clan herself and, like the Pope's brothers, constantly scraped together money. A niece received Venetian church collections as a dowager, apparently in tempting amounts¡ her husband, in any case, who was her husband, passed and had the woman liquidated.

Even the youngest, underage children, so-called te bastard sons. Thus Aloisio, filius naturalis of papal brother

Johann, provost of Mainz and prior of S. Sisto in Viterbo at the age of six. Giacomo, illegitimate fifth son of the Pope's brother Andreas, was already a member of the Order of St. John at the age of seven and was already receiving benefices at that time. The fourteen-year-old Jacobus III became canon of Ravenria and Osnabrück, archdeacon of Frieslard; at the age of fifteen he became archipresbyter of Gaeta Cathedral, canon of Patras, canon in Todi and Assisi, he received benefices at three churches in Rieti, etc. A sixteen-year-old became commendatary abbot of the great Benedictine abbey of S. Salvatore near *Rieti.* Jã, in Augustţ *3s7 in a single week, three un-
oral Tomacelli ten different benefices'.

Under such circumstances, it is difficult to believe Cardinal Hergenröther that Boniface IX "was very frugal for his person"; a pope who, after all, had no fewer than nine - well-privileged
- A pope who was described by his contemporaries as "boundlessly greedy and unscrupulous", who did not disdain even a few pieces of gold, since a small fish in his hand, as he said, was better than a whale in the sea¡ a Holy Father of whom the Catholic papal historian Kühner writes that he was "almost exclusively *preoccupied* with his own enrichment and that of his relatives".

His overall financial management was also scandalous, even by the standards of the time. But he needed enormous sums for his wars, especially for the battles in the Papal States. So he sucked out every possible source of money with sy- stem and without scruples. "First comes a caritativum subsidium, then a tithe tax, then collections and other charges," Pandolfo Malatesta complained to the Pope in the year r 3qy about the increasingly unbearable fleecing of the clergy.

If one disregards the acts of violence, the Curia seemed to be almost exclusively concerned with markets and business. From the very beginning, Boniface took half of the higher first yearly incomes he granted. He not only increased the number of papal piovisions enormously, but often granted several for the same benefice. He paid for each petition, each post cost money. The allocation was never decided by the

suitability of the bidder, but the amount of the bid. They were sold for cash to the highest bidders. Everything was financially exploited, commercially skimmed, everything was for sale.

This pope raised the church tax so high that the "Anna- tes of Boniface" became proverbial. He leased out his rather desolate, almost dissolved state, divided into smaller or larger tracts of land, to solvent customers, so-called vassals, who had to swear allegiance to him and pay interest.

Pecuniary reasons also played a role in the many incorporations he carried out. To boost the business

heln, he annulled i4 oa All the integration rights granted by previous popes, as well as by himself, but not yet actually implemented.

and soon after approved new ones; "a financial operation on a grand scale, but also of the worst kind" (Seppelt}.

His trade in indulgences was no less evil, simply shameless. His granting of imperfect indulgences became almost unmeasurable. He often extended indulgences (-ad instar-) that were originally only authorized for certain churches to the attendance of other churches, whereby he was able to milk the jubilee indulgences even better and more frequently than before and the indulgences became more and more prevalent. From some areas, his agents collected over soo ooo gold guilders. He not only granted the privilege of a jubilee year far beyond Rome, but also made it possible for entire countries as well as dioceses, corporations and individual Christians in return for reimbursement of travel expenses to Rome and an amount that the pilgrim would have donated in the Roman basilicas. Boniface IX collected half of this money; the other half went to the respective favored church - unless greedy princes or congregations beat them to it.

are. Yes, Boniface even offered strategically important places in the ecclesiastical state for sale."

However, the Pope extended the benefits of the jubilee year not only in terms of space, but also in terms of time. Just a few months before his death, his predecessor Urban had set the jubilee year as the year **E390** in the bull -5al- vator noster-. And Boniface IX then allowed it to continue, year after year, for a whole decade.

profitable, although the Christians from the countries adhering to Clement VII had to stay away. For the year -4OOS8, Boni- taz expressly canceled another jubilee year in March of this year. In May, however, he announced a new jubilee year with six days of participation in the campaign against the Colonna. The sacrifice of money was now joined by the sacrifice of war, which often ended not in rejoicing but in misery, especially because of the plague, which was raging in the Papal States at the time and, according to one chronicle, claimed up to 8oo victims day after day in Rome as a result of the large crowds of people.
were slain by robbers or marauding bands of warriors.

Boniface IX was generous with church property when it was necessary to pay for his wars, and this was always the case, so to speak. While his predecessor had prepared for war until the year of his death, he began to do so in 39o, soon after his accession to the throne. In doing so, he allowed himself to pledge or sell all of the church's income in the Terra di La Voro, as well as the monastery property around Benevento.

In the meantime, Clement VII had already invested a million florins in the conquest of Naples over the previous eight years and had chosen Duke Louis II of Anjou, whom he crowned King of Sicily in the presence of Charles Vl in Avignon on i, November i 8q. (Although the term "Regno di Napoli" had been coined to describe the southern Italian monarchy around the middle of the•4 century, its official name was initially
Regno di Sici1ia-, even if they no longer have the island itself.
which of course did not prevent Boniface from appointing inquisitors for Sicily, as he did for Germany).

In the late Middle Ages, Naples was by far the most important city in the kingdom with 6o ooo inhabitants (Rome, by comparison, had at most z5 ooo): a glamorous court, a magnet for the greatest artists of the time, including Giotto, Simone Martini, Petrarch, Boccaccio, a leading trading metropolis and trade fair city; not to mention the fact that on ty. August i 38q the miracle of the blood of St. Januarius (S. Gennaro) was documented for the first time in the cathedral.

Almost exactly one year later, on ią. August x3qo, Ludwig landed II of Anjou in the city in which and around which some blood was to flow. Just under a year earlier, in November, Boniface, in a harsh and successful change of front to the Italian policy of his predecessor, had recognized the young Ladislaus, the son of Charles of Ourazzo, as king, who in February had issued a
Only just survived the poison attack by his opponents. On xq. May• 39 Boniface's cardinal legate Angelo Acciaiuoli crowned him king in Gaeta. And now, with Louis II's landing in Naples, a ten-year conflict began, a long war in which Boriifaz's brothers also fought, until Ladisíaus, with the help of the Pope's money and mercenaries, which was also supported by chartered ships, was able to win the war.
tried to stop the supply from Avignon, won the entire kingdom and drove his opponent back to Provence,
on to. July i 3gg and also became king of Hungary in Augustţ *4 3 . - When the envoy Giovanni da Ravenna visited Boniface in the summer of T4oo, he saw the whole of
apostolic palace, apart from a bishop and the pope, only 5ol-
data."

There was also war within the severely disrupted ecclesiastical state, where the pope's brothers operated, while Boniface, constantly driven by worries about raising money, seized ecclesiastical income at home and abroad for the purpose of more intensive armaments, took out loans with important banks, made money liquid everywhere, even by taking gifts or through the general obligation to renew for all papal graces in the event of their imminent expiry within a year. The pope constantly sought new w a y s and means to increase the military budget - from taxing the clergy in Rome and selling off the monastery property there, which brought the convents to the brink of ruin, to the shameful confiscation of the Jubilee pale in Germany, the increasingly heavy burden on the subjects in the patrimony and especially, it seems, in the Margraviate of Ancona, to the pledging of the vines under his audience halls or that of his mitre to Cardinal Stefano Palosi; and yet not even the payroll debts of Urban VÎ. had not even been paid.'°

Boniface IX's relationship with Rome was initially friendly thanks to the commercial efficiency of the Jubilee. However, the Republic soon recognized him as an enemy, felt duped, the Romans rose up i 3qa, the pope fled to Perugia and, when the revolution broke out there the following summer, to Assisi. The Romans brought him back and even gave him an escort of a thousand horsemen and io ooo gold florins in travel expenses for his return. But in Rome, the quarrels and conspiracies were soon repeated, which he was only able to put down with the help of the young King Ladislaus, with the heads of the conspirators rolling down the steps of the Capitol.

Boniface had the ruined Castel Sant'Angelo (S. i3) › rebuilt and additionally fortified, had the Vatican turned into a fortress following the example of Avignonese and the Capitol, the Senate Palace,
like the Romans klagren, into a päpsdicheii Zwingburg, in short, he did everything to sweep aside their re- publical independence that they had claimed in recent decades. He not only controlled the highest judicial bodies, he also occupied every office in the commune - right down to that of the doorkeeper in the meeting room at the Capitol" {Esch). And above all, he set about eliminating his last great enemies in and around Rome.

He paid particular attention to the campaign against the Count of Fondi, Onorato Caetani, i n t h e south of Rome in i3qq. Caetani was not only the first and most determined supporter of Clement Vfl, who had been elected at the conclave in Fondi. He also fought Charles III of Durazzo after his invasion of the Kingdom of Naples i n I3 8Z and, from i 3q 5 onwards, once again invaded the Roman Campagna of He also tried to drive out the pope through intrigues, who in turn had himself reinstated, pledged and reserved church revenues in lu- and abroad, who alone burdened the diocese of Cologne with ooo florins and probably also drew on the crusade tithes collected from England. Indeed, he himself called for a crusade against Gaetani, who had been excommunicated in 399, and
forced him - 4 O TOf unconditional capimilation, whereupon he died in the same]ahr.-°

At that time, the longest resisting co

lonna, relatives of Caetani and, like Diesel, staunch supporters of the Avignonese popes. But Mirte January 14 00 the revolution planned by Nicholas Colonna with the cry "Death to the tyrant Boniface" and a 5tower on the Senate Castle failed. The Pope fled to Castel Sant'Angelo, occupied the Colonna with the Banu, their goods with the interdict and íled a crusade against them too - with zooo papal horsemen, militarily supported by Rome and King Ladislaus, until the Colons made peace for this time.

But Boniface IX had the heads of 3 i of his prisoners cut off and died in peace in the Vatican in October *4 4. Freely, still dying, the "thirst for gold" tormented him. And even though he had become master of the entire Papal States, the Church itself he had torn up further. -His and his relatives' possessions, the confirmations and anniversaries, the shameless sale of indulgences and a hundred other customs piled up the material for the Reformation ever higher ...""

$INSTEAD O F A WICKED TW O, A WICKED THREE

Already a decade earlier, on September z ö. x3qd, Clemens VII died in Avignon, but this did not end the Great Schism. All the Avignon cardinals had already appointed Pedro de Luna on z8. Pedro de Luna, a nobleman from Aragon, professor of canon law and Cardinal Gregory XI since the end of i75, had already been unanimously elected **pope on** September z8. He called himself Bønedict XIII (-394* •4- r, d. - 4*31 and was only now, nineteen years after his cardinal's appointment, ordained priest and bishop.

As legate of Clement VR, the self-confident, eloquent and highly educated de Luna had won the nations of Spain, Castile, Aragon and Navarre, but was unable t o repeat his success as envoy to France, the Netherlands and England in 393. He was also active in Paris for an end to the schism.

He signed a cedula during the conclave, as did most of the electors, for both popes to resign (via cessionis), which he would do if he were pope. While still in the conclave, he signed a cedula, as did most of the electors, to resign if the cardinals deemed it necessary. But when de Luna ßenedikt
XIII, he no longer cared about his oath. He was rebuffed one after the other, from France, England and Germany, with all demands for his resignation and all reminders of his vow. He evaded them, pleaded for negotiations, his preferred "method of discussion", the via discussionis, and even more for the via facti, the removal of his adversary in Rome. Indeed, in May i 3q8, the once seemingly so renunciant and willing to resign declared the resignation of a legitimate pope to be a sin. And of course he considered himself legitimate and justified his legitimacy in several works.

France finally officially denounced Benedict XIII, deprived him of his financial resources and besieged his palace in Avignon, which had been turned into a fortress, from r3q8 to r3q8. *4 3.
undermined this, until &nedikt was also undermined by his most cardi
nals and entire countries, escaped in disguise to Provence in March 4o3. But now the Cardinals, France and Castile also returned to obey him, albeit only in return for the promise of his return on the death or abdication of the ruler in Rome.

This case already occurred the following year with the death of Bonifaz
IX. and the succession of Innocent VII. ¡ 404 *4) , the third Pope of the Roman obedience in the Western Schism.

Before his election, Cosimo Gentile de' Migliorati, previously a professor of law in Perugia and Padua and for ten years the tax collector of Urban VI in England, swore before his election, like the seven canons who elected him, that he would do everything, including his own abdication, to eliminate the schism. After the election, however, he too felt no great desire to resign. Moreover, his pontificate was short-lived and disrupted by a Roman uprising. He had to call Ladislaus of Naples to his aid. His nephew Ludovico Miglioiati also bravely stood by the pope, murdering eleven Roman envoys, two governors, and two governors in the hospital of S. Spirito.

of the Republic, including several regional captains, and threw them all out of your window on to the penal arena. The Holy Father, however, gave the bloodstained nepotist a spiritual papacy and named him Marquis of Ancona and Count of Fermo. After all, the Pope was "mature in all his dealings and of the most peaceful nature" {Gregorovius).

Innocent VII was forced to flee to Viterbo at night during the uprising in Rome, together with the cardinals, whose palaces were burning in flames. Peter (Perugia), while three other papal companions fell dead as a result of the ordeal of the retreat. Although the pontiff was able to return to Rome in March -4o6 when the mood changed, he died there in November, Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, the future Pope John XXIH, had him pardoned by the Bishop of Fermo.

The secretary and successor of the deceased, Angelo Correr, of Venetian nobility, already eighty years old and known for his unionism, had declared his possible willingness to resign before the election. After the election, as Gregor I*4 -idIs. g---- *4*71 this once again. However, since Benedict XIII, despite all assurances to the contrary, no inclination to the resignation, but rather wanted to defeat his Roman opponent through a campaign of Duke Louis of **Orleans** (-47 ***ft PāSİS** Inf der Strafie murdered), which he supported financially.

Gregory XII did not feel compelled to leave either, especially since it was

He evidently enjoyed squandering the tithes allegedly collected for the church union with his nephews, while in Rome the weapons spoke and anti-papal barons were once again beheaded in the Capitol, such as Galeottus Normanni, the cavalier of freedom, or Conradin of Antioch, a descendant of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

A planned meeting between the two popes did not take place. Notes were exchanged for months without success. Then the unification negotiations that had been going on since the end of iio6 were broken off in early ryo8. Gregory now even issued a ban on negotiations, damn-

declared the "path of abdication heretical" and declared that he wanted to die as pope. And while the enraged French government once again withdrew from Benedict, even ordering his arrest, which he escaped by fleeing to Aragón, Gregory created four cardinals in May 1408, including his two nephews Anton Corrario and Gabriele Condulmer {spiíter Pope Eugene lV:

p. z*4) Now the majority of his followers fled to Pisa, where also Benedict's disappointed cardinals appeared and soon a mortal church meeting took place.'-

The Council of Pisa, in canonical terms a rebellion, was convened by the apostate cardinals of both popes and was strongly criticized. met from a . March to August 7 rqoq. Gathered were z¢ purple trágers, four patriarchs, 8o bishops, even more representatives of absent bishops, 7 abbots and representatives of zoo ab-
abbots and hundreds of doctors of theology and
of the rights. The Piipsi, who were self-constituted, were absent. They tried to forestall things in Pisa by holding their own synods in Perpignan and Cividale del Friuli near Aquileia, from where Gregory fled in disguise to Gaeta, under the protection of King Ladislaus.

Their opponents, however, forged a seven-article indictment, summoned 63 witnesses and deposed both heads of Christendom as notorious schismatics and heretics at the fifteenth session on June 5. They expelled them from the Church and, after a conclave on June z6. After a conclave on June 6, they presented a new Holy Father, the Milanese Cardinal Petros Philargos {Pietro di CaridiafCrete), now Alexander V, to the Roman, Roman Catholic a n d Avignonese O%diencies.

But since Gregory and Benedict did not accept their deposition, the schism had not been abolished by means of the via concilii, which had already been discussed for a long time, but rather aggravated, mau had, according to a contemporary source, instead of the wicked "duality" (dualitatem in- famem) a "trinity" (trinitatem ... ab omni- bus maledictam}, mau had not one pope, not two popes, but three, each of whom excommunicated the other. For each of the previous ones naturally continued to claim, albeit

with greatly diminished obedience to be the legitimate head, not unlike Papa Pisanus.*

Alexander V { IĘOQ-*4*), the first Greek pope again after seven centuries, was exceptionally of simple origin,
Orphaned at an early age, a Franciscan pupil, then a Franciscan himself with theological teaching activities in Pavia and Paris. Supported by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Petros Philargos successively became bishop of Piacenza, Vicenza and Novara and i n return obtained the investiture of the dukedom of Milan {Z3 7 ducal title of Lombardy) from King Wenceslas in 395. rqoz became bishop of Piacenza, Vicenza and Novara.
Petros Philargos Archbishop of Milan,•4 5 by Innocent VII.
Cardinal.

Together with Baldassare Cossa, he had helped prepare the Council of Pisa and played a leading role there; he also swore that if he was elected pope, for which Cossa had campaigned, he would not dissolve the council until the church was reformed. However, he did not keep his oath and postponed the reformers. After all, he had more important things to do. His first act of government was to generously endow his favorites with bishoprics and benefices, he soon excommunicated King Ladislaus of Naples and sent an army against the papal adversary in Rome under Louis II of Anjou, whom he had confirmed as King of Sicily, and Cardinal BaÍdassare Cos sa of Bologna.

However, after the capture of Rome, which had been repeatedly stormed, the Pope of the Council did not reside there but, urged on by Cossa, in Bologna, where the Cardinal exerted a strong influence over him until Alexander, summoned to Rome by an envoy, arrived on May 3, 4 nOCh before he could properly consider the offer.
unexpectedly passed away - a loud, much-
but rather untrue rumor that the cardinal was
gífret, who in any case became his successor just fourteen days later.

ÜAPST JOHAN x XX III.

SO WE RDEN Ü Ü C HS E GE FANGEN "

Little is known about the youth of Johann XXIIt. { r4• *4• s, d. i q19) little is known about him. He came from impoverished Neapolitan nobility and had begun his career as a warrior, some believe as a

Pirate, the difference is small anyway, started in the naval war between Laislaus of Naples and Louis of Anjou. After studying law in Bologna, he was sponsored by Boniface IX, brought to the Curia and became rich there through usury transactions. The pope elevated him to cardinal legate in Bologna, where he is said to have been as brutally domineering as he was stupendously lustful, not only copulating with his brother's wife, but also with widows, young women and wives by the dozen, some of whom w e r e then allegedly killed by their husbands or relatives, without this impressing the cardinal. "

Despite the more or less vague suspicion that he was the murderer of two popes, the cunning and unscrupulous Cossa, who had never even been ordained a priest and whose contemporaries also believed that he had never confessed, never received communion and denied the immortality of the soul, became pope unanimously at the Bolognese Conclave xy zo.

Many things helped. He did not refrain from working on his colleagues with all the means his position offered him. There was no shortage of g r e e d y and corruptible elements in the college. And so rivers of money will have flowed and rewards of all kinds will have been promised without measure to buy the votes of the electorate!" Fear of him also played a role and made even the recalcitrant capitulate. -For they knew that a crowd was waiting outside, impetuously demanding Cossa's election, the cardinal's comrades-in-arms and henchmen guarding the entrance as conclave keepers ... All it took was a left from the balcony of the house from which he had often had his death sentences pronounced, and a storm broke out that was to bring death and destruction to them all (Souchon).

But also the expectations placed on his military activities.

lente had an effect. For in alliance with Louis of An- jou, they continued their campaign against King Ladislaus, the protector of Gregory

XII. In April iii i, Cossa led an army, armed with church funds, to Rome, and despite a great victory at Roccasecca ann i g, won with banners consecrated by the pope, with iz ooo horsemen and many foot soldiers, but not exploited. On May E4i r, the advance against Ladislaus was a mediocre success. Pope John had the captured flags of the King of Naples and Pope Gregory hoisted on St. Peter's as if intoxicated. Peter, threw them down and dragged them behind him in syrup dust during a procession through Rome; although he excommunicated Ladislaus again and preached the cross against him; although he had rebellious Romans killed by 5trang and axe, he was nevertheless cornered and was now prepared to betray Louis of Anjou if King Ladislaus betrayed Pope Gregory.

• He offered to recognize him as king, to make him the standard-bearer of the church, to pay him large sums for the release of Cossa, his relatives, and to hand over Ascoli, Viterbo, Perugia and Benevento as pledges, in return for which Ladislaus himself was to recognize him as pope, place a thousand lances at the service of the church and persuade Gregory XII to abdicate or else banish him from the kingdom {Gregorovius)."

The shameful deal really came about, even if Ladislaus only went along with it in appearance, declaring Gregory XII to be illegitimate, a heretic, and John XXIII to be legitimate. In reality, however, he was eager for revenge against a pope who had almost destroyed him. In the summer of id I3, he marched against Rome again, where his soldiers went on a barbaric rampage, where they burned and plundered churches, got drunk with women from consecrated chalices and turned St. Peter's into a stable. And while **Pope** John and his court fled **head** over heels, pursued by the enemy, plundered by their own troops, while the king lived in La Teran, confiscated and dragged many Romans away captive, the Roman people celebrated feasts and shouted: -Long live King La-dislaus!

Of course, he was not to live much longer.

While John XXIII and Gregory **XII** were wandering through Italy,

While they found asylum here and there, John in Florence, Gregory after a particularly adventurous escape in Rimini with Carlo Malate- sta, who was still intensively in the service of the Pope even after the schism, the Neapolitanet, who secretly sought to subjugate the whole of Italy, advanced northwards with army power, reached Perugia and was stopped by the Florentines.

Allegedly exhausted by excesses, he fell seriously ill, arrived in Rome on a litter, from there by ship to Naples, where he died on the 6th of August•4 4 'm Castel Nuovo in terrible agony¡ inherited by his only sister Johanna, a beautiful woman,

a woman with a thirst for life, whose existence, shaken by guilt and passions, was somewhat similar to that of her eponymous predecessor

{p. i6 f.). The Florentines celebrated the king's death with great feasts, the Goricistoro of Siena with Psalm i i8,z3: -This is done by the Lord and is a wonder before our eyes*'.

Pope John, however, having been distressed by the attack of the Neapolitan in breach of contract, had meanwhile turned to the German king for help, but now also called on Louis of Anjou to win the Neapolitan kingdom by force of arms.

Sigismund {•4 -*4i), the last Luxemburger in the male line, was the son of Charles IV and the younger brother of Wenceslas IV.

{ r363-rdoo, d.*4*9). of that Bohemian and Roman-German king who, carefully educated, well-rounded and politically untalented, which does not speak against him, ultimately preferred to sit in Prague or in his beloved castles in the Bohemian Forest rather than rule the realm. 4 Deposed as a - useless - king by the Rhenish electors in Oberlahnstein (formally

unlawful and never recognized by him), his more ambitiousq almost old-fashioned brother Sigismund - King of Hungary since3 7 , after the death of King RuprechtS I• 4 io and the counter-king Jobst of Moravia I@ Ei, his father - was crowned Roman-German king (two more crowns were added later).

Soon afterwards, Sigismund accomplished this by abolishing the ecclesiastical language at the Council of Constance, according to the Communis opinio,

his greatest achievement. But was this really a historic achievement? Or would not a final collapse of the papacy, which has always been so corrupt and superfluous, have been a real boon for the world?

Sigismund, like his father and brother, had initially chosen Gre-Gregory XII, but•4 9•• P i s a n e 6 c h a n g e d to Alexander V and his successor Cossa, apparently because Gregory lost much of his obedience after his deposition in Pisa, while Cossa became more powerful.

Sigismund immediately contacted John XXflI, with their views apparently differing most on the location of the council. Everything depends on the location, said the pope to his host, who naturally wanted to a c t within his sphere of influence and wanted Bologna as the conference venue. However, Sigismund, who campaigned for the council throughout the West, especially to England, France and the Holy Roman Emperor, finally decided in favor of Constance, Pope John had to give in and c o n v e n e d the meeting on November I of the following year; however, the circumstances of the council's convocation were not clear.

{Xonvocation Bull of g. December iii 3) are not clear. But because Cossa suspected nothing good, and feared Sigismund himself most of all, he bought the support of Duke Frederick IV of Austria on the way, in Meran, for 6ooo florins a year, whom he appointed captain-general of all papal troops with the bull "Dum intuitus" of October i y. October ii i ¢ a s Captain General of all papal troops, and then, towards the end of the month, he said from the mountains to Lake Constance: -So foxes are caught. -'°

The KONSTANZ COxzlk (I4I4-I#I8)

ENTMncHTET THREE I PäPSTE

At first only weakly attended, but soon in extraordinary numbers, the Council of Constance was held despite enormous international tensions, despite the Hundred Years' War, despite the great

The largest congress of the entire Middle Ages was held at the time of the Great War between the Teutonic Order and Poland, among others. Easily accessible from Italy and France, everything was represented, the world of princes and counts, of orders and knights, of universities, of diplomacy, of envoys from kings and cities, above all, of course, swarms of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots and doctors of theology, a total of around seven hundred clerical council participants with about i 8 ooo servants.

Finally, not to be forgotten above all the spiritual, intellectual and aristocratic splendor is the work of the seven hundred public harlots, so often omitted but also conscientiously recorded by the city chronicler Ulrich Richental, including those who were brought along by the Council Fathers themselves. "I have often heard the fainthearted say," wrote Jan Hus at the time, "that their city of Constance will not be rid of the sins committed within its walls during the Council in thirty years"; "many have spat out because they saw things that were too shameful". Of course, the ladies dressed in yellow also filled the offering box with coins at Holy Mass on Sundays.

Gregory XII and Benedict XIII were absent; the negotiations with they had failed. John XXIII's gloomy forebodings had not been mistaken, for the Council, who now felt more like a verus, unicus et indubitatus pontifex, soon deprived him of his power. Although he was still able to ceremonially open it on s - November i d i q and, initially fully recognized as head, he was also able to undisputed leader. But when 5igismund himself arrived at Christmas, he, supported by a few influential cardinals and theologians, quickly took the reins out of the pope's hands.

This was not only due to the clever diplomacy of the king, who had an above-average level of education (in addition to German, Czech, Polish and Hungarian, he also spoke French, Italian and Latin), but perhaps even more so due to a procedural trick. After that, the bishops were no longer the only ones to v o t e , there was no per capita voting at all as before, but per nationes: each nation was given the right to vote, without having to rely on its fellow citizens.

The College of Cardinals also had only one vote, which deprived the pope of a certain superiority over his many Italian followers, who were strengthened by new appointments. In addition, the cessio omnium, the abdication of all three popes in office, was increasingly advocated.

At first, John was reluctant to resign, resisted with all means at his disposal, did not lack for promises or assurances, made promise after promise, would rather lose his right hand than not keep his word, but then gave assurances at the beginning of March: - I, Pope John XXIII, declare, pledge, vow and swear to God, the Church and this holy Synod, for the sake of the peace of the whole Christian people, of my own free will to give peace to the Church by my simple renunciation of the papacy, to actually carry it out and execute it according to the advice of the present Council, if and as soon as Peter of Luna and Angelo Correr renounce the papal dignity they claim, whether in their own right or by &authorization.-'-'

A Tedeum was already being sung and all the bells of Constance were ringing; the monarch thanked Johann, but had the city gates guarded, whether or because he had sworn that he would not leave the place. However, he felt under pressure and his freedom and security were not unjustly threatened, so he escaped in the night of March zo. to zi. Disguised as a groom, he escaped to Schaffhausen to a castle belonging to Duke Frederick of Austria, where he was followed a few days later by eight cardinals and many curials. King Sigismund now respected the Austrian, whose country the Confederates, evidently well-informed and well-prepared, had covered with war, so that he was no longer able to protect the pope.

By his outburst, John had tried to thwart the church union, to break up the council, either to localize it elsewhere or to dissolve it completely. This failed completely. Rather, he piovozed it into a revolutionary doctrinal decision, the decree -Haec sancta" of 6P*' *4* f, which proclaimed the supremacy of the

The Pope was the first person to exercise his authority in matters of church schism, church reform and faith.

Theologians such as MarsiJius of Padua and William of Ockham *had already* developed conciliar *ideas, and* during the Western Schism Conrad of Gelnhausen, Dietrich of Münster, Dietrich of Niehm, Jean de Gerson and others propagated the democratization of the church constitution and the general council as a higher institution, a kind of parliamentary supervisory authority over the pope.

In contrast, according to conservative church circles, the latter owed no accountability to the Xoncil, its primatial position was fundamentally unshakeable, and the decree "Haec sancta" was not seen as a breach of constitution or tradition, but rather the highest authority was only granted to the Council in a case comparable to that of Constance. The matter soon came up for discussion again at the Council of Basel {p. zz3 ff.), was even revived more radically and remains controversial to this day.

On his flight, John declared that he had only left Constance for health reasons, but was also full of complaints about the conciliar circumstances and new assurances that he would keep his promises. He fled on to Freiburg, unaccompanied by a cardinal, was captured by Count Palatine Ludwig III, Duke of Bavaria, in Breisach at the end of April and then subjected to a trial in Constance.

Since February4• y, an **obscure** list of all the deeds of which he was rightly or wrongly accused, a rise bought with money, an uncommon mismanagement, the squandering of the
Church property, sexual vices of every kind and quantity. The list comprised 7 points of his Crimina, indeed, originally even more were recorded, but it was ignored "for the sake of the honor of the Apostolic See".

If one trusts the testimony of the witnesses, i.e. a dozen cardinals, half a dozen bishops, curials, all of them themselves, mind you, not much better, then John XXIII had become a cardinal and Pope as a result of bribery, had enriched himself colossally by selling church assets, by simony, indulgences, and had become a bishop.

nipulations. Shortly before his deposition, John **XXIII** was so wealthy that he was able to offer King Sigismund a bribe of too many gold florins. According to the witnesses mentioned above, the pope had poisoned his predecessor Alexander, probably his predecessor Innocent. He had committed adultery with his brother's wife, had the sister of the Cardinal of Naples as a concubine, had often indulged in homosexuality, rewarded one of his favorites with an abbey, etc. A contemporary also wrote that it was publicly reported in Bologna that "in the first year of his pontificate he had seduced two hundred married women, widows, virgins and a great many nuns".

Wlg aUCh lmlflet, on•7 May he was presented with yq points of accusation, allegedly in order to spare the ears of the Council Fathers, who were nevertheless quite scalded, many more concerning his way of life, because they were all too dirty. -Mxilti articuli, quia nimis sordidi erant, omissi."$*

In the meantime, Pope John had collapsed, did not want to defend himself, did not want to contradict the holy infallible assembly under any circumstances. At the end of May, a deputation from the Council presented him with his deposition. He asked for two hours of reflection, then submitted and was unanimously removed from office for - unworthy life, notorious simony, incorrigibility, bad church leadership, promotion of schism and many offenses given to the church. That said, John XXIIf. was a dishonorable and undignified pope, but not an illegitimate one. And despite all indignity: I'iachdem Cossa still four years as a prisoner of Ludwig III. of Bavaria on castle Hausen {bei Mannheim) and had bought himself out4*s for a huge sum, he was named - so worthy was he again - Martin V. as Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, shortly before he passed away forever under a pompous tomb - with papal insignia - donated by the grateful Medici banking house and made by Donatello and Batelomeo di Michelozzo.

At the beginning of July, Gregor XIL was also informed by his procurator Carlo Malatesta announced his resignation and was appointed Cardi

nal Bishop of Porto for life, who, however, also did not lasted much longer.

Only Benedict XIII, now living in Spain, whose confessor, advisor and vehement agitator was a saint, Vicente Ferrer {S. i Sz), remained firmly convinced of his papal legitimacy, and therefore even Sigismund, who had traveled to the south, to Narbonne, in person, was unsuccessful. However, the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon, Navarre and Castilia {later Scotland) fell to Benedict - and none other than H1. Vicente Ferrer publicly proclaimed and justified the solemn abdication of obedience to his friend Benedict at length in Perpignan on January 6, nti6 and naturally declared his support for him after the election of Martin V. t i4*7).

Benedict XIII had been sitting at the northern end with a few loyal followers since r zJ4
of the Gulf of Valencia on the impregnable fortress of Peñiscola overlooking the sea, asserted that he was the true church, Noah's Ark, and was deposed on July 6, in Constance after a trial with a number of charges. On July 6,*4*7 in Constance, after a trial on a number of charges, he was declared "perjured, a schismatic and a notorious heretic". This did not shake de Luna. He considered himself the only legitimate pope until the end, appointed -4*>
four cardinals and died on z3. May of the following year.
He was also rumored to have been murdered. However, the attempted poisoning attributed to Cardinal Adi-mari is said to be a legend. De Luna's remains were - 4-9 transferred to his family castle Illueca and i8 i i scattered to the four winds by French soldiers, with the exception of the skull.'-

Even if Benedict XIII still had a successor in Pope Clement VIII { i -{a3 election, z q z6 coronation}. *4° abdication}, the Aragonese residual schism had not ended with the deposition of John and the resignation of Gregory, as well as the election of Pope Marrin V, on
i i. NoVembeF 4- 7 lost its significance and thus the con-
zil one of its three objectives, the causa unionis, the elimination of the division, church unification achieved.

Another important goal, however, the causa ieformationis, the reform of the church, remained, despite some attempts by the new,

now so good

as the generally recognized head of the church, was on the wane. Because the prelates, who were doing so well, swimming in their fat sinecures - stinking human carcasses - as one theologian called them at the time, had, exceptions aside, no interest in it at all. No objection to the word reform. But ge-
the 5ache. The longer the assembly lasted, the more it soured. At the end of the year i4 z y, the Germans complained that all of the miB customs for which Pope John had been deposed were still in force.
were flourishing, "and the Synod refrain from condemning them". Nothing happened in this regard over the next year either.

However, a third goal, the causa fidei, the cause of faith, was at least achieved insofar as the venerable council, which, according to the Handbook of Church History, "can hardly be overestimated" - "for the spread of humanism", also burned two merchants, important people, professing Christians.

6. K A PITEL

JAN HUS AND THE HUSSITE WARS

-Therefore, faithful Christian, seek the truth, listen to the truth, learn the truth, love the truth, sow the truth, hold the truth, defend the truth to the death.
Jan Hus'

-Hus addressed the plight of his listeners from the common people and related the biblical "no" and "yes" to their own situation in an explosive manner. The opposition's resistance was certainly exacerbated by **the social composition of** Hus' sermon. The followers of Hus - above all the **revolutionary Prague priest Jan Zelivsky and the Tsborircn - these** accents unfolded into cinerri Ievp)utionary program. In **some respects** they went **beyond Hus:** recognizing that the truth of Gorte had obligatory social consequences, they thought and acted tcbut in the spirit of Hus.- Jan Milic Lochman-

• Only when Hus was gone did his thoughts actually come to life.
Lcnpold vnn Ranke'

-In the end, the soldierly or - as a sad reality - the Soldateska overgrows everything. Social injustice intensifies under their blows, because the exploited still suffer more than the exploiters.
The misery of plundering wars, as they became more and more common in this period and in the following centuries, created even more effectively that mass end of the dispossessed and disenfranchised than class antagonisms ever could - and that the Hussian movement had set out to remedy. The end was a heap of ruins in the middle of Europe, a foretaste on the destruction of the Three-Island War.
Heinz Rieder-

Renowned reformist preachers had already appeared in Bohemia during the reign of Charles IV, who were once again oriented towards following the biblical Jesus. Indeed, the emperor himself, persecutor of the German Waldensians in the country, appointed the popular Austrian Augustinian canon Konrad von Waldhausen (Waldhauser), who had been preaching since i 35o BC.

He worked mainly in Vienna, i 363 to Prague, one of the largest cities in Central Europe with around4 o ooo inhabitants. And where he was also called

imperial court chaplain and parish priest at the noble Teinkirche, he preached with lasting success, but also gained great popularity outside Prague and Bohemia, in Salzburg and Erfurt. Waldhauser advocated comprehensive church reforms, attacked the decay of the church, the luxury of the rich and the greed of the Beaelorden, until he was tried for heresy in *68*, during which he was sentenced to 369 years in prison.

Jan Milic of Kremsieq, his Czech pupil, continued Waldhauser's work, but unlike his teacher, he preached in Czech. Coming from Moravian minor nobility, from the royal chancellery in Prague and the cathedral chapter there, Milic

He gave up all his offices at1364 and founded the "New Jerusalem", a school for preachers and a missionary house for converts from Prague. He lived an ascetic life, avoided women, always wore the same clothes and, like many medieval monks, never baptized. As a bufi preacher with strong Adventist leanings, he proclaimed the imminent arrival, even the presence of the Antichrist, as whom he once introduced the emperor listening to his homily, pointing his finger at him.

Temporarily imprisoned, he continued to preach, was summoned to the papal court three times, fell into the clutches of the

Inquisition in Rome and was imprisoned in Prague for his church, clergy and clerical activities.

criticism a -heretic---process, during which he t3yq in Avignon died.

Another student of Milic was the titular canon of Prague and penitentiary Marthias von Jaiiov {gest.
*394) n contrast to Milic, whom he revered and admired, he did not live poorly, sought personal success but, like Milic, emphasized the eschatological theme. He demanded a central motif,
the primacy of the Gospel over all church statutes, daily lay communion, prepared the ground for Wyclif's reception in Bohemia in particular and also had a strong influence on the later Hussite movement.

Around the turn of the century, the fierce reform debate among prominent religious nonconformists was intensified by numerous Prague theologians who dealt in depth with the teachings of John Wyclif (S. I4s .), who, in his radical recourse to
the Bible called for a poor clergy, which naturally met with the approval of many. And from all these socially critical tendencies {to which were later added national implications not originally given, the departure of the German masters and students, at least half of the university members, from the university) grew a kind of reform movement, whose spokesman was the university magister and, S8lt *4 -, rector of the three-thousandth university.
Preaching house for people - To the innocent children
Bethlehem - Jan Hus'.

A REF OR **MATOR DE LAM M** ETS **B O** H M S

Jan Hus (Jo4ann von Hussinetz) came from a poor background and always had sympathy for so-called simple people, which in his time was still go percent of the population. According to Hus, the priest should also be poor, just as Jesus was poor, whom he followed.

To i3yo in Husinec, ann Fufi of the Bohemian Forest, not far from the Mol-

dauquellen was born, the farmer's son erw" - g - the year in which

who was killed 3ooo Jews in one day in Christian Prague (cf. VII i k. ch.) - came to the city. He studied philosophy, became a Magister artium in 3q6, practiced theology from i 3Q8, now also lectured, became a priest in 14 00, i4 o i dean of his faculty,

• 4 z preacher and rector of the Bethlehem Chapel, where he spent a year.

He is said to have preached two hundred sermons a year or more for ten years and became -4o9 rector of the university, which at the time had the highest enrolment figures among European universities. This was a brilliant career for a man who followed in the footsteps of Jan Milic and Matthias of Janov, and their conviction of what was true, but who followed the English reformer in particular, whose treatises he copied (i 398) and from whom he adopted much, as was common at the time, without, of course, being an epigone of Wyclif.

Hus, who hardly mentioned any hierarchs by name, was not lacking in clarity from early on. He unabashedly exclaims that the popes oppress many thousands, that they lie, and they lie extensively, that they make themselves executioners and executioners, that they call a faithful Christian a heretic and burn him.

King Wenceslas initially sympathized with Hus's reform efforts, also appreciated his national Bohemian university politics and his fervent Czech and Slavic views in general. The queen, Sophie of Wittelsbach, sometimes listened to his sermons. The aristocratic Archbishop of Prague, Zbynék Zajic von Hasenburg (i do3- ip i i), who was also only z6 years old when he took office, allowed him to preach sermons and appear before other important bodies. And since Hus did not question the basic principles of the estate order, his harsh criticism of the wealth of the priests, their greed, luxury and arrogance, and his insistence on the secularization of church property could only be welcome to the nobility. His accusation that the clergy collected a quarter or a third of all the kingdom's income was hardly out of touch with reality. In the north-east

In Bohemia, the church owned around -4-° --° ZO ÜFOXEnt of the land, but in the Pilsen region it owned 36.q percent and in the Prague region 3.6 percent, in total more than a third of the land.'

Hus, once called evangelicus doctor-, always remembers how-

of the Bible. For example, the word: -You have received in vain, give in vain.- Or to Manhäus i9,zr: -If you want to be full, go and sell your possessions and give (the proceeds) to the poor ..." But how does it work in reality? Hus says: "You pay for the &ichte, the mass, for the sacraments, for the AblaS, the blessing, the funeral, for prayers. Even the very last penny that a grandmother has hidden in a little cloth is not left to her. But the thieving priest takes it ..." Hus denounces the canons, the "lazy mefistecher", who can hardly wait for the end of the service to rush out to the taverns, to dance - like wild animals - after mammon, usury, fornication, gluttony - the greatest enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Hus played the profitable business with miracle-rich relics, the "evil" of the mendicant monks who "exploit the people through pretended miracles and lying pretenses, the earth from which Adam was formed, straw from the stable of ßethlehem, donkey dung, water from the Jordan, manna from the desert, hair from the skin of the Baptist, from the beard of Jesus, curls of the Virgin Mary, her earwax, her milk. Or raking in money through three blood-red wafers in Wilsnack {Havelland), where pilgrims flock by the thousands from Hungary to Sweden and Norway, proved to be a lie and deception - nothing but deception.

Hus agitates against the bishops, prelates, - the "lords of the devil" and their great estates. - Let them prove where Christ the Lord has called them to possess and rule over this property! But if there is no property in a church, there is no clergyman. The archbishop understandably dislikes the criticism of worldly possessions, of the church's right to rule. And

He was also filled with a growing fondness for John Wy- ' *4 he forbade his teaching. i qo8 - the year in which the first documented attack on Hus took place, by the Prague clergy, who

Hus obviously sees his material existence threatened - -4o8 the archbishop orders the surrender of Wy- clif's steps and has them handed over on i6. July into the archiepiscopal court in the presence of many priests, contrary to a royal deferral order.

missing, burn. A Tedeum was sung, and all the bells rang as if for the deceased. Two days later Hus and his companions were banished, and anyone who did not deliver Wyclih's works was also excommunicated.

But after the act of extermination, it was all the more important. Hus supporters were whipped in a vault of the archiepiscopal court, but Hus opponents were also mistreated. Fatal scenes still took place in the churches. A preacher was attacked with drawn swords, and clerics fled from the altars by the dozen, even in the middle of mass, as the archbishop himself once did with forty priests.

Misjudging the situation, Hus, who was generally filled with optimism, appealed to the Pope for the burning of books and a ban on preaching. And if Innocent VII had already demanded that the spread of Wyclif's teachings in Bohemia be stopped, John XXIII {who placed the Hus trial in various hands, including his own) now recommended further action by the archbishop in Prague through Cardinal Oddo Colonus, if necessary with the help of the secular arm, which meant the use of force; otherwise he himself would be threatened with excommunication.

The metropolitan, however, an obedient servant of his master, soon recalled and tightened Hussen's excommunication. And this, along with other things, aggravated the situation in the city again, and the turmoil increased. But Hus, who, unlike his friend Hieronymus, never counted among the radicals, who often toned down Wyclif's sentences, who basically accepted the existing social order, as did Wyclif, did not want any coercive measures, no revolution. And if the king had already declared his willingness to have followers of the Wyclifite "heresy" burned, Hus sought to avoid the conflict.

Even earlier, he had not sought a confrontational course; as an obedient son, he had humbly submitted to the en- bishop, his instruction, his rebuke, his protection, he had emphasized in a university speech that he regarded Wyclif as a scholar whose books he had studied like others and had learned much good from them. But he did not consider what a scholar said to be a truth of faith.

write a teacher. Only the Holy Scriptures offer the truth of faith. He encouraged the students to study Wiclif's writings; what they did not yet understand in them, they should put aside for later; views that were contrary to the faith - such were found in Wiclif - should neither be defended nor accepted. They should submit t o the faith."'°

But Hus soon came up against a new serious obstacle, which the Pope himself gave him.

In the battle against King Ladislaus of Naples, johanr;
XXIII on g. September ią i i he issued a crusade bull in which he promised indulgences (venia peccatorum) not only to the warriors, not only to those who fought at their own **expense,** but even to all those who merely paid for the crusade. Perhaps it was precisely this that provoked Hus, who had once spent his last penny on gaining an indulgence, but had long since taken a fundamental stand against indulgences, the entire doctrine of indulgences in the Church, and mocked in a sermon because Paul had not granted indulgences to the Corinthians when he collected alms for the Jerusa- lem saints.

When the crusade and crusade indulgences were solemnly announced in Prague in May*4•• , three chests were set up in three large churches, including inn Dorn next to St. Vitus' altar, into which the money for the purchase of indulgences **was** immediately placed. -Now the nations have the highest
Grace has become! Now the heavens are open!" proclaimed the papal money collectors, "the money-grubbing teachers of anti-Christ, inspired by the devil of mammon. For a blind man, Hus declared, could see with his hands that the pope was only interested in money, since he did not mention prayer at all; quite apart from the fact that neither he nor the priests knew whether the people who bought indulgences were really penitent. A "disgrace", cried Hus, accused the **pope of** "criminal presumption", "the most disgraceful sirnony", and the people sang mocking verses, threw shards, bones and rotten fish into the indulgences.

In June, a note with vehement attacks against the "followers of Belial and Mammon", against the Pope, the "Antichrist", was also found in one such box on the Hradšín.

the concluding sentence: -One must believe the truthful Magister Hus more than the prelate, the deceitful crowd or the concubinariem and Simonists." In contrast to Hus, Jerome of Prague was notorious for spectacular actions, had city-famous hookers, with the papal bull around their necks, drive through the streets and then burn the documents on the cattle market (now Charles Square).

Of course Hus was also excited, perhaps even more so, by the fact that the SteIl-

The Pope called for the bloodshed of Christ's representative, that he did not, as Hus had done, heed the words of St. Paul, "My vengeance is vengeance, I will repay" (Rom. i x, i q), that his bull was also directed against Christ, whereby John XXIII freely denounced the Neapolitan king as a blasphemous, schismatic, heretical, and perjurious criminal of majesty with all apostolic tongues.

Hus had obviously overreached himself with his atiacke against John the Baptist and the reigning pope. Having just been the dominant instant of the Bohemian reformers, he suddenly found himself, with the exception of students and parts of the people, quite isolated, even abandoned by friends. The theological faculty stood against him, as did most of the parish clergy, the cathedral chapter and the archbishop - since the death of Zbynêk of Hasenburg in the fall of i the German Moravian Albich, although the latter, recently married, had nothing to do with theology. He was a doctor of law and an outstanding medical scientist, also a personal assistant to Wenceslas, who wanted him as archbishop, which is why the priest was bribed with 36,000 gold florins. However, little attracted by the Prague quarrels and theologically overwhelmed, the new church leader quickly moved to the Vyšehrad provostry, the southern part of the city, and later to Moravia and Wroclaw.

King WenzeÍ, as a result of the general recognition of Sigismund

As a Roman-German king, he was no longer politically motivated to protect the Prague reform movement and no longer favored Hus¡ with him. Wenxel preferred to s t i c k with Pope John, who had recognized him as Roman king and was much in favour of a coronation.

was still necessary. Wenceslas himself encouraged the Polish monarch to promote papal abla- profits and around this time forbade insults to Joan and protests against his b u l l s on pain of death. When it c a m e to executions, he is said to have remarked: "And if there were a thousand of them, let it be done to them as always.

There were attacks on both sides, including the storming of the Bethlehem Chapel by a heavily armed mob, mostly Germans, where Hus railed incessantly against the papal ablaBon and, as he believed, would have been killed if his followers had not protected him.

A few of "the loudest shouters", as Protestant Albert Hauck put it, three young Prague craftsmen, Martin Kridelko, Jan Hudec and Staiek Polak, who were particularly zealous against the "lying and false indulgences", "You lie, priest!" at the announcement of the indulgences, -It's all fraud!", were executed on July x i, strictly contrary to the councilmen's denials, currently all Germans, according to one source, and the gunmen consisted only of Germans. They were executed, even though Hus, who called their condemnation unjust, was accused himself - - I advised to oppose the indulgence. *I* did it!" -, promised not to shed any blood. Just a few hours later, the three were beheaded before they had even arrived at the place of execution because of the large crowds.

Although Hus did not seek to break completely with the hierarchy, and even withdrew and remained silent, at least after the liquidation of the three men who were soon celebrated as "martyrs", he repeatedly swelled his head, declared his opponents to be accomplices of the Antichrist, scolded the pope together with the magistrates, doctors and lawyers as collaborators of "this abominable beast", "the greatest enemies of Christ", since "Satan with twelve devils" could also sit on Peter's chair.

In July, the Curia had once again i m p o s e d an ecclesiastical ban on the "-chetter", as the Prague papal appendix - "did not save money" (Renate Riemeck), and in October the ban was tightened,

whereby the execution of all the prohibitions and threats meant the complete expulsion of the banished man from any human community: - No one was allowed, under threat of interdict at any place of residence, to offer Hus food or drink, to speak with him, to make purchases or sales with him, to offer him lodging for the night, fire or water. All offenders were threatened with the same ban. If Hus or his followers did not receive absolution within a further i z days, the Iriterdikt, the ban on all ecclesiastical activities, would be proclaimed in all towns, villages and castles where Hus was staying " '

The Pope also orders the followers of the "heretic" to be driven out of their "cave", the Bethlehem Chapel, and the site of the -heresy- without delay.

Hus is undecided. He is not thinking of himself, perhaps not even primarily. He also fears the consequences of the interdict for his believers. -"I don't know what to do", he confesses helplessly and stays outside Prague from October to December, but continues to spread his ideas of reform, particularly favored by the new Archbishop Konrad of Vechta, known as the "limping German", who then even converts to the Hussites. Hus comes to Prague again, disappears, comes and goes, until from the beginning of July i ą i 3 until his journey to Constance, he lives and works continuously for more than a year under the protection of some noblemen in southern Bohemia - - I preach in towns, under castles, in the fields and in the forest - - while he lives in the small goat castle {Kozi hrádek), then with a noblewoman in the forest.

The widow Anna von Mochov, called the "most zealous Hussite in all of Bohemia" by one of Hus' opponents, was strangely never mentioned by Hus himself in his correspondence. (One almost feels somewhat reminded of the fłucht [356J of the Doctor of the Church Athanasius. and his longtime shelter with a twenty-year-old beauty: 1 38ş ff!)'*

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH BURNS JAN Hus

In the meantime, preparations were being made for the Council of Constance and King Sigismund, the "Council Emperor", urgently wanted Jan Hus to attend in order to end the religious turmoil in Bohemia and free the country from suspicion of heresy.

Sigismund invited Hus to come to Constance several times, in spring - 4 4 by the two Czech Rit-
Jan von Chlum and Wenzel von Dubfi, active Hus supporters,
then through Heinrich Leffl, a confidant of King Wenceslas who sympathized with the reformers. Indeed, a third envoy of Sismund, Nikolaus von Jemnisté, negotiated with Hus and reported on his master's good will to "bring the matter to a laudable end". And when finally a letter from the royal notary Michael von Priesr dated October 8 informed Hus of the ruler's "lively joy at his decision to come to Constance" and promised to send a royal letter of escort together with a representative of the king as royal travel companion "for greater security", the letter no longer reached the addressee as Hus had already been on the road with Sigismund's knights Chlum and Diibi since October ii. October, with over thirty horses and two wagons. Finally, both kings, the Roman and the Bohemian, agreed that Hus could return home unharmed if the council condemned his teachings and he did not submit. Finally, Sigismurid's letter of safe conduct, which guaranteed the

• Hussen's free return was placed under his and the Holy Roman Empire's protection and umbrella.

Hus reached Constance on November 3, two days later.
Pope John XXIII opened the Council.

But the Holy Father, who had previously banned and condemned Hus, *gave* him his personal protection on his arrival, insisting that he would not hinder him in any way, even as he said,

• if he had killed my own brother - - and had him arrested that same month. And the king, who had repeatedly summoned him to Constance and now, from the breach of conduct, the prisoner

Hussen's arrest, threatened that he would free him if he had to personally break down the doors of the dungeon, and immediately advised Hus to -totally surrender to the mercy of the holy council-,
to be penitent, not obstinate, otherwise the Council Fathers would know quite well what to do with him. Yes, he added: - I told them that I would not defend a heretic, on the contrary, I would set fire to and burn a stubborn heretic myself!

At the end of November, Hus was still imprisoned under the completely fabricated pretext that he had tried to escape from Constance by hiding in a hay cart; he was muzzled, but was neither heard nor convicted nor sentenced, not to mention given free conduct. First h e was briefly imprisoned in the home of a local canon, then in the Dominican monastery (once inhabited by Heinrich Seuse) on the island outside the city, where he was imprisoned in a cell right next to the cloaca (in quo- then carcere iuxta latrinas). The bishop of Constance then took him to his castle Gottlieben, to a cold, narrow room on the top floor of the tower. There Hus lay bound during the day, chained in a wooden cage with an iron handcuff at night and constantly guarded by three armed men. He repeatedly fell seriously ill due to an old liver and gallbladder ailment. He had headaches and stone pains, suffocation, high fever, vomited blood. The worst was feared, but the papal personal physicians made sure that the prisoner, as it was called,
• would not die in such an ordinary way".'-.

The Council's work had long since begun. First of all, the important work behind the scenes; above all by some opponents who had rushed in from Bohemia, such as the papal procurator Michael de Ca usis, John "the Iron", the warhorse and bishop of Leitomysl, as well as the theologian Stefan Pfileé, formerly the bishop of Leitomysl.
one of Hus' closest friends, one of his worst enemies since about - 4- * - ner, also author of an -antihus" . Paleé shed tears in the dungeon of his ex-companion - and then sent him to the stake.

They operated with guile, with sophistry, with informers, with

horchep inquisitors, special interrogations. Individuals, cardinals, bishops, individual theologians and monks were influenced. They spread rumors, false reports, occasionally falsified public announcements, falsified Hussen's correspondence, falsified the Bible. They also intercepted his mail and used it against him. And they worked - with bribes. In front of Hussen's dungeon, Michael de Causis declared: -With God's help we will burn this heretic quickly, I have already spent many florins because of him."

On the other hand, in late summer•4*4 d the Papal Inquisitor in Prague, Bishop Nicolaus Condemone, waited in the presence of several Bohemian nobles and a notary who certified this, explains: "I met with Master Hus often and often, ate and drank with him, listened to his sermons and had many conversations with him about the Holy Scriptures, but never perceived any heresy in him; on the contrary, I recognized him as a righteous and Catholic man and noticed nothing **erroneous** in him. To this day, no one has ever proven him to be a heretic; nor did anyone try to do so when he called for it only a few days ago at the church meeting in the archiepiscopal palace by publicly posting on the wall." And Archbishop Konrad von Vechta of Prague said something similar at a meeting of priests at the time.'*

In this dark, hypocritical world of the Council, the Bohemian nobleman John of Chlum stood steadfastly by Hus, even if everything he did was thwarted and ineffective. However, two letters of protest written in Czech by the Moravian nobility were also sent to the king, as well as the solemn memorandum of a large assembly of barons, knights and noblemen in Prague on May i, bearing no less than ayo seals of the Bohemian-Moravian aristocracy, who were outraged by the magistrate's imprisonment against truth and justice. He had been slandered guiltlessly, but with him also Bohemia and the Czech tongue". And now, it is said, he is "imprisoned in your power and in your city, although he has your promises and letters of safe conduct!

But the king feared the cardinule and had been long gone,

If he had not decided against Hus from the outset, he had sided with the vast majority. As clever as he was calculating, as unreliable as he was ambitious, Sismund wanted to be the savior of the Church and of all of Christendom. And he did not want to see Bohemia branded as a -ketch--angle. So he gave Hus up, especially since, as Eberhard Dracher, an eyewitness, reports, he had been persuaded for so long that "he was not obliged to keep his word to someone suspected of heresy until he believed it himself" - "and since he was serious about it, he let it go" and did not allow himself to be irritated by the Hus affair and other trifles.

On New Year's Day - 4-5 he formally authorized the cardinals to deal with Hus as they saw fit. He capitulated completely to the thousands of clergymen who had gathered. He wanted Hus
If the heretic abjures or the doom takes its course, the heretic will be burned. Just one of his heresies, he said, was enough. Indeed, he called on the cardinals to mifitraud Hus, even if he recanted. Once he returned to Bohemia, his teachings would spread to Poland and other countries.

Hus, who had already been warned about the king's free conduct in Bohemia, recognized it far too late in what he long believed to be his own life,
-great benefactor and strong protector-, the opponent He now remembered a royal messenger, the Lord Mike3 Divoky, who once promised him safe conduct and a good end in Sigismund's name at Krakovec Castle, but added to Sigicmund's order on his own initiative: -Know for certain, Magister; that you will be damned!" Too late, eq - realized that Mikei had seen through the king's intentions only too well. Yes, he finally believed that the ruler had deceived him from the beginning. - I suppose-, he writes to Chlum and Duba, "this is my last letter to you, because tomorrow I will be saved from my sins by a terrible death in hope of Jesus Christ. I cannot describe what happened to me that night. Sigmund did everything with deceitful intent."

The official government, especially a nineteen-member commission of inquiry, had long since declared Hus-

Enemies, their victims. But Hus had basically been a dead man since his appearance in the town on Lake Constance, or at least one who would have been put away for life in some monastery dungeon if he had been recanted.

After John Wyclif afT* -4 May i q r 5 had been ordered to be eternally dammed and his bones dug up and thrown away like garbage in an unconsecrated place, the public interrogation of Hus began at the beginning of June, a mere formality, whereby one

often treated him scandalously: shouted at him too often, hardly let him get a word in edgewise, showered him with scornful remarks, asked him trick questions, laughed at him, whistled at him, insulted him, showered him with imprecations and insults, called him a reptile and a horny viper, worse than a sodomite, Turk, Jew, than Cain and Judas, by finding his troubles of conscience comical or not even taking up his train of thought. Witnesses were questioned, almost all of them opponents; on a single day i 5, all of whom accused him. Statements were forced against him. He was not allowed a defense lawyer because "a person suspected of heresy is not entitled to legal protection. He was accused of making statements that he had never made, doctrines that he had never held, that had been falsified, and he was even accused of claiming to be the fourth person of God.

In short, Hus could behave however he wanted, it was always turned against him. If he was shouted down from all sides, so that he could not answer clearly, he was called confused. If he spoke in detail, he was accused of being a rabble-rouser and only wanted to hear yes or no from him. If he remained completely silent, he was seen as agreeing with errors. And if he argued with the help of the church fathers, they found it absurd and called him to task. "Give me two lines from any author," boasted a medieval inquisitor, not without reason, "and I will prove that he is a heretic and burn him." I had thought," Hus once calmly countered to the council crowd, "that I would find more decency and order at this council! - And reported back to his friends in Prague: - They all shouted against me, like the Jews against]esus." Hus was often accused of insanity, scolded for being a stubborn

kigen "heretic" . Yet he repeatedly reiterated his willingness to correct, he often offered the Council his retraction, his humble retraction, if it convicted him of an error, taught him better, refuted him from the Bible and the Church Fathers.

Shortly before his death, on y. July, he told an official delegation, including two of the most prominent cardinals, d'Ailly and Zabarella, exhausted and emaciated, already marked by death: -... if I were conscious of having written or preached anything against the law of Christ and his true Church, I would - God is my witness - recant in humility. I only ask that I be shown better and more acceptable proofs from the Scriptures than those I have written and taught - then I will willingly recant!" And when one of the bishops approached him: -Will you be wiser than the whole Council?", Hus replied: -I do not want to be wiser than the Council ... Give me, I beg you, the least of this church assembly to teach me something better from the Scriptures, and I will do everything the council asks of me!

But should he act against his conscience, renounce what he never said, lie to the Council? But that is exactly what they wanted, they wanted to bend him, humiliate him, wanted his total retraction, wanted to hit and destroy his life's work, the entire dangerous movement of Bohemia - the Council wanted the lie, it anticipated the tactics of the show trials of the twentieth century: it demanded a comprehensive confession of guilt even where no guilt had been found or proven" (Rieder).'-.

It is only too understandable that in Constance, with death before his eyes, Hus was particularly careful and deliberate in his tactics, that he was very cautious about what he said, that he was exposed to "temptations", that he was afraid of perhaps renouncing, of losing his credibility, that he also showed weaknesses, fear that he tried to defuse and limit some of what he had previously said, that he sometimes did not reply very concretely, evaded, even denied some things, even if it went too far, as the envoy from Cologne University claims from a visit to Hus: -I have never seen such a brazen and law-twisting fellow, who was so cautious.

and knew how to conceal the truth." Hus proved to be unshakeable in all that was essential and decisive, in everything that concerned his moral righteousness, his fearless criticism of the Church and his esteem for Wycliffe. Asked again and again to renounce, urged again and again by threats and temptations to recant voluntarily - he remained steadfast."

So on Saturday, July 6, 14* s, the final act of the bloody theater. Early in the morning, everyone who was anyone celebrated Holy Mass in the cathedral, from which Hus, bound and surrounded by heavily armed men in the vestibule, was excluded. The Archbishop of Gnesen sang the Gospel according to Matthew y, i 3: -Beware of false prophets, who c o m e to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves ... -. The Bishop of Lodi preached the sermon based on St. Paul's words: -The preaching body shall be destroyed- and appealed to the king, under the crown and with all his insignia present, to destroy the

• Heresy - to eradicate, - but above all this obstinate heretic there, through whose wickedness so many regions of the earth are infected with heretical plague and are being destroyed . .. -

HuS, meanwhile brought in, had sunk to his knees and was praying.

Then the charges and the many false witness statements that had long since been disproved were read out, with a "decree of silence" in place. But Hus, using his last opportunity to inform the public, to declare his orthodoxy, kept shouting his protests and corrections at the top of his voice until the beaters were ordered to silence him by force, so that he pleaded insistently with his hands raised to heaven: -Hear me, for God's sake, hear me, so that at least those gathered here will not all believe that I have asserted heresies! After that, you may do with me as you please!

When he was again accused of having called himself the fourth person of God, he wanted, of course in vain, to hear the name of the 7th Eugene and confessed his Catholic faith.

And when he was reproached for his disregard of the Baiin, he declared that he had sent to the pope three times to defend his cause or to be taught better. Since he was denied this, he came to this council of his own free will, after the king, who is present here, had promised me safe conduct to protect me against any violence - whereby Hus looked at the ruler, "the playboy ruler of the Holy Roman Empire", over whose face, according to eyewitness Mlade- novi$, "a blush of shame fell", without doubt "the saddest figure in this drama" (Molnar).

The Catholic Church still cuts a sad figure today.
historian Brandmüller, who writes: - For goodness sake {!), the Council tried to make it as easy as possible for the accused to recant ..."

After reading out the verdict with which the "holy synod" issued a • Hus sank to his knees and cried out: "I ask you to forgive all my enemies because of your great mercy; you know that they have falsely accused me and presented false witnesses and false articles: "Lord Jesus Christ, I beg you to forgive all my enemies because of your great mercy; you know that they have falsely accused me, presented false witnesses and set up false articles against me! Forgive them because of your immeasurable mercy." Many bishops laughed; the royal councillor Count Schlick, however, left the cathedral agitated and with the loud declaration that he could not in good conscience be present at such an unjust condemnation.

Hus was now solemnly demoted. Standing on a pedestal in the middle of the nave and clad in the full clerical regalia, seven bishops - since he had once again refused to abjure in order -not to have to lie to God's face and "violate my conscience", as he said in tears - tore off his vestments piece by piece, insulting and cursing him, and handed him over to the -worldly arm-, not without putting on him the paper cap of the -heretic-, adorned with -three grown teufel-, "even close to a

elbow up, and proclaimed: -We give your soul to your devil.-*'

Hus was led away, past his burning books, through a huge crowd of people lining the path. At the sight of the pyre, he fell to his knees and prayed aloud: -Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who suffered for us, have mercy on me." But when he wanted to preach in German on the spot, he was prevented from doing so. He was also never allowed to deliver the three speeches summarizing the Bohemian reform principles that Hus had prepared for Constance.

They tied him to a pole with wet ropes and piled wood and straw around him up to his chin. -Then," according to witness Peter von Mladenovi9, "the executioners set fire to the magician. He then sang first with a loud voice: 'Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy on me'; then a second time: 'Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy on me! -"You who w e r e born of Mary the Virgin." And when he began to sing hard for the third time, the wind immediately struck the flames in his face, and so, praying within himself and moving his lips and head, he passed away in the Lord. But in the moment of silence, before he passed away, he seemed to move as long as one can say two or at most three Our Fathers quickly. When the wood of the aforementioned bundles and ropes had been burnt, and there was still a body mass hanging from the aforementioned chain around his neck, the executioners then pushed the aforementioned mass to the ground together with the pillar, revived the fire with a third load of wood and burnt the mass completely ... But since they had found his heart among the internal organs, they sharpened a rod in the manner of a spit and attached the heart to the end, burned it specially and shook it with rods as it burned, and finally reduced the whole mass to ashes. And at the behest of the aforementioned lords, the (palatine) count and the marshal, the executioners threw his shirt into the fire together with his shoes, saying: -Lest the Bohemians hold this like relics ...' And so they loaded ... everything onto a cart and dumped it in the nearby Rheiriilufi.

According to the Constance chronicler Ulrich Richental, the executioner took him and tied him, clothes and all, to an upright board, placed a stool under his feet, laid wood and straw around him, poured a little pitch into it and set it alight. He began to scream and was soon burnt to death. And while he was burning, the inful (heretic's cap) remained whole. Then the executioner destroyed it, it also burned and a bad s m e l l arose; for Cardinal Pancratius h a d had a mule, which had died and been buried in this place, and the heat opened up the ground from which the stench came out."

So the crowd, well directed, could still get a bit of the devil's skin.

The Council Fathers celebrated a thanksgiving service the next day. And the Catholic theologian Brandmüller came to this conclusion in the year i qqg at the "good end" of his Apology:

-The proceedings were f a i r and just. -

In contrast, iq 63 the archivist of Constance, Otto Fegez, demanded in an official appeal that Pope Paul VI not only rehabilitate Hus, but also canonize him - the worst thing that could happen to him. However, in the autumn of i qqo, even Pope John Paul Il encouraged theologians in Czechoslovakia to define more precisely the "place" of Minister Jan Hus among the "reformers of the Church", and also emphasized his "irreproachable personal life and efforts for the cultural and moral progress of the nation".

Is this church rehabilitating Hus? It doesn't deserve that! And he certainly didn't.

And the next year, Hieronymus of Prague, Hussen's friend and comrade-in-arms, was burned to death.

Hieronymus had once promised Hus that he would follow him in case of danger and, although banished himself and urgently warned by Hus, he came to Constance at the beginning of April, but, informed accordingly by Chlum and Dubà, soon left again. Shortly before the Bohemian border, however, he was captured in **Hirsau,** Upper Palatinate, and sent back by Duke John of Bavaria in **May.** He was carted away, his hands and feet bound,

to Constance, where he arrived on z3. He arrived on May 3, was imprisoned for a year, likewise in chains by his hands and feet and in a bent position with bread and water, and was burned to death on May 3o

1416.

Although Hicronymus, weakened by the terrible circumstances of his imprisonment, had been made to renounce Wyclif and Hus in September *4I§, his recantation was also revoked by him and he defended the old convictions with an attitude that impressed even his enemies. -I have never-, the Council confessed.

I have never seen a man so eloquent as Jerome, a participant and secretary of the papal curia, Poggio Bracciolini. His enemies had made several accusations accusing him of heresy, and he defended himself so beautifully, so modestly and so wisely that I am unable to express it ... Jerome had already been sitting in a damp, dark tower for i4o days and was able to deliver such a splendid speech, full of examples of famous men and principles of the church fathers ... His name deserves immortal honor ... Jerome was from the school of the ancient sages, neither Scaevola held his hand into the fire as bravely as Jerome held his whole body, nor Socrates emptied his cup of poison as calmly as Jerome climbed the pyre."

II E H US S ITI SCHE RxvO LUT IO1'4 BEGI NNT

The flaming deaths of Hus and Jerome led, as was to be expected, to rebellion in Bohemia and new monstrous crimes. The country became a seething witch's cauldron, the people, from the nobility to the last peasant, a single front against Catholic orthodoxy. While Hus was elevated to the status of a saint, while he and Jerome were venerated as martyrs, the decisions of the Council of Constance, the visitations, the bookings, the interdict on Prague were ignored, and communion was served under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

The chalice became an identifying attribute, a powerful Hussite symbol. Outraged, revengeful and robbing, the "chalice believers hunted down the clergy of the early church. Further excesses followed, the plundering of church galleys, mass expulsions and the murder of the opposing clergy. Even the archbishop had to give way.

Whilst Sigismund was still in power, and Wenceslas was still in power, radical minds took the lead in the movement, which soon split into various groups, above all the radical Hussites, the Taborites, and the moderate ones, to whom the university and the high nobility were inclined, the Utraquists {Calixtines), who received communion in both forms. They formulated their demands in the Four Articles of Prague, i.e., in addition to communion sub utraque specie: free preaching for clerics who were qualified to do so¡, freedom of the clergy from office; punishment by the secular authorities of mortal sins (heresy, simony, theft, drunkenness, etc.) against priests and laity.

Jan ?elivsk¡ (Johann von Selau), a former monk, ex-Cistercian and one of the most incessant agitators, eloquently proclaimed the near future, the fight against the Antichrist,
the overthrow of everything that exists. From the pulpit, he incited his followers against the nobility and the urban bourgeoisie and once insulted the mayor present as a "robber of this community".

As always, the Bible is useful. In memory of Moses and the Old Testament heroes", Zelivskj incites his listeners, -to dip their swords in the blood of their enemies-. Soon people were coming to his sermons armed. But then he, also brilliant in war as a "director exercitus" and popular with the people, becomes a nuisance to the Prague City Council because of his radicalism and, along with twelve party supporters, is asked to attend consultations in the spring of -4--.
secretly beheaded, whereupon his own storm the town hall
The arrest of priests and, as is so often the case, guiltless Jews.

More important, even more popular: Jan 2iéka von Tratzenau (Trocnov), from the South Bohemian petty nobility, an unfortunate admirer of Hus and enemy of the priests, yet pragmatic, with no particular

The army had no sense for sectarian zealots, theological hair-splitting, disputes over church worship, but was rather intent on military concentration, defense and attack. Field pacifists therefore thoroughly welcome! -It is not befitting of a faithful Christian to give way before the Antichrist."

At times in the service of the Polish and Bohemian kings, who expressly authorized him to avenge Hussen's execution, the Hussite leader was also politically rather traditionally oriented, neither fundamentally against the nobility nor the bourgeoisie. Later, however, he broke with the court.

Under 2izka and 2elivskJ, the "First Defenestration of Prague", the outbreak of the Hussite revolu- tion, took *place* on June 30, i q i q. Demonstrators practiced lynch law, throwing city judges, court officials, city councillors and mayors through the windows of the New Town Hall onto the streets, where they were mauled by the crowd. Catholic clergymen were also expelled and murdered, churches and monasteries and the large estates destroyed. A golden age is promised to the poorest, the most out-spent, the fall of the oppressors; an egalitarian society, the community of goods, even the coming of Christ.

King Wenceslas IV dies of excitement on i6. August i 4 iq at Wenzelstein Castle near Prague. And after his death, the revolt escalates even more. The next day, the churches are stormed, relics and altars, paintings and organs are ruined and stolen at w i l l . The Carthusian monastery was also l o o t e d and burned to the ground. Almost fifty monasteries in the country were destroyed that year and the next, more than a hundred churches, monks and nuns were mercilessly massacred, and there were no priests left for a long time; they were all killed {Hauck}.

Since -4^ rganizes and leads Ziéka as supreme commander with a - Hussite army order" and using partial-

The Hussite fortress, the center of the Radical movement, the center of the Hussite army, the Taborite fortress, named after the holy mountain of the Bible. Mount Tabor, named after the holy mountain of the Bible, the Hussite fortress, center of the Radi-

kalen, the most radical group representing chiliastic ideas must leave in MARCH*4•• : the Pikarderi, who, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, reject religious instruction, turn to polygamy
and community of goods. Soon afterwards, about fifty of them are dragged to the stake as -abominable heretics- on the orders of Üizka, who hunts these zealots mercilessly. (One of their priests, Martin Hiiska, was burned at the stake on xi. August i ¢zi, however, was burned by Catholics). The Adamites, around 3oO in number, who were sometimes equated with the Picards (and were judged very controversially), were side-lined by Zizka in early fall i4 zi."

Hussian preachers roam around and stir up the rebellion.

Religious fanaticism and greed increasingly unleash the masses. Soon they wanted to liberate not only Bohemia but also Germany, they wanted to make the whole of Europe Hussite as God's chosen ones, as proclaimers of the only true faith. But they not only wanted to proselytize, they also wanted to liberate the peasants, who were stuck in serfdom and bondage, constantly threatened by hunger, epidemics and the horrors of war, they wanted not only a religious but also a social revolution. Everything should become common property, also free of levies and taxes.

Looting was strictly forbidden in the Hussite army regulations. Because of robbery out of greed for gold", sang the "Gonesstreiter-, "do not lose your lives, and do not stop at booty." Gradually, however, it all boiled down to mere pillaging and raids; as a Czech annalist writes, they only "loaded themselves with great booty" and "made do with gold".

Of course, this did not happen without bloodshed.

First of all, there is a rampage in Bohemia, destroying all the churches and monasteries in the Pilsen region, for example; an aristocratic force is crushed as bravely as lustfully, and the town of Sezimo- vo-Ustf is conquered and burned.

King Sigismund, the rightful king of Bohemia after the death of his half-brother, has been back in the country since the end of i d i q after various Turkish battles in Hungary, but is extremely unpopular due to his cruel criticism and the burning of Hus. And while

While on the one hand he affirms his innate attachment to the sweet homeland, on the other hand he would rather see Wiclifists and Hussites drowned today than tomorrow, so he naturally makes common cause with Pope Martin V and proclaims on it. March *4^O the cross bull issued by the latter -to eradicate the Wiclifists and Hussites - which was even followed by hundreds of Low Countries.

HERE CROSSES THE
"GIFTI'sE Gxwii RM"

They thought they had an easy game, advancing from Silesia into Bohemia.

The Taborites invaded Bohemia, but - 4- *4-* due to the outdated killing methods of the royal troops, they only suffered defeats in heavy battles. The Taborites then devastated Bohemia, stormed

They conquered castles with the help of their cannons, burned villages, s t a b b e d the inhabitants, and in Komotau {Chornutov) left only as many d e a d a s they could bury.

The king had to leave the country, the nobility, who had just been generously bribed with church property and church treasures, changed sides and joined the Hussites with flying colors. Even Archbishop Konrad von Vechta joined them -4-i. The year before, he had crowned Sigismund King of Bohemia in St. Vitus Cathedral. The prelate was banished and died, withdrawn to hisx orders, 43 -

During the second crusade i4 a i/i4az, Bohemia and Moravia were invaded from the west and east. The hordes of German, unga Croatian and Croatian troops plundered the country without restraint, but fled from the advancing enemy to the borders without a fight. Sigismund barely escapes. Biod was conquered in pursuit of the invaders, one thousand five hundred men, women and children were slain and burned to death along with the entire city. Hundreds of rivers, horses and wagons drown under the breaking ice of the Sazawa, over

A thousand corpses lie along the road to Kuttenberg, a fraB for dogs and wolves. -Bohemia began to turn more and more into a desert after this crusade - Rieder).

For just as the Catholic Church had done away with Hus, it also sought to wipe out Hussitism, naturally also by force, by forming ever new armies of the cross. Martin V (i4*7*

43), the only Colonna in the papal chair, demanded sic, while Sigismund harped on the matter after the failure of the imperial troops. However, on behalf of the electors, the Archbishop of Cologne soon arrived.

Bishop Dietrich went to Hungary to promote the extermination of the heretics. And the Pope sends Cardinal Branda to the king to stop the bloodbath. -Arise," the Holy Father wrote to the battle-weary prince, "so that the rest of the faithful may not invoke your lukewarmness and excuse their own sluggishness with your actions! - And in a bull he also calls for the destruction, yes, even calls his own priesthood armed into battle **against** the "poisonous worm".

But the king did nothing, he only pretended. He liked to act as bailiff and patron of the church, as the savior of Christianity. He declared all "heretics" outlaws and threatened them with the most terrible punishments. In Nuremberg's St. Sebald's Church, he solemnly received the cross-piece consecrated by the Pope and promised a crucifixion, but he did not keep his promise. He did not lift a finger.

Even when the ageing Żižkä 4-ą raged in Bohemia, worse than ever, he did not intervene. It became - Żižka's bloody year - and his Year of death. In mid-September, no longer one-eyed, but fully blind, war-blind, he had entered Prague acclaimed, a short month later on October i i4*4. the plague carried him off, not without his pledging his followers to firmly and faithfully shield the divine truth for the sake of eternal forgiveness.

In the Thirty Years' War his tomb was plundered and destroyed by order of Emperor Ferdinand II, the God-fearing).

Żiñka was succeeded by Prokop "the Great" {also known as the Bald, RasuS, as he was beardless). He was a Hussite priest, possibly came from the Prague patriciate and continued the

struggle with old

Brutality continues. And with God. Yes, the war was almost the path to this. Taf Prokop proclaimed: -"By the grace of God, the spirit of war will bring the hearts to recognize and grasp the truth." This was done by setting villages and towns ablaze and hanging the prisoners. On both sides, of course. And now, in the autumn of 14*5, Sigismund also went against the Hussites with Tingar troops and supported by a strong force of Duke Albrecht V of Eastern Europe, his son-in-law, who had "proved himself above all in the wars against the Hussites" {Handbook of European History). The I;ief Duke, who once had five hundred villages burned to the ground in Moravia, exterminated the Hussites as furiously as Zizka exterminated the Catholics. Yes, now under the two Catholic princes they even destroyed everything, whether Hussites or Catholics."

At that time, when Bohemia had already been completely plundered, the

rien also the wars of plunder and devastation on the other side of the border.

The Hussites invaded Austria, Hungary and penetrated far into the eastern and central German territories of the empire, including Saxony, Silesia, Franconia and the Upper Palatinate, where the troops of the - often per-

personally against the enemy - Würzburg Bishop• J ohann II. vos Brunn schändlich hansen" (Wendehorst). They were actually almost at the gates of Vienna, reaching as far as Prefiburg, Torgau, Mag-

deburg. Yes, in the summer of -4i i, Prokop reached as far as the Baltic Sea, as far as Gdansk, while in Bohemia, too, they continued to fight, against

The German army, which was divided into Catholic and Catholic, occupied enemy castles and fortified squares, fragmenting its own strength through the war on two fronts; just as the German side was weakened by internal quarrels and territorial disputes.

Only in the beginning did the Hussites go easy on what they called their,

"glorious journeys of war- the subjugated people of the neighboring countries, even sought to ally themselves with them against the clergy and nobility,

-missionized" with leaflets and manifestos. Soon, however, they attacked the exploited as well as the exploited, such as churches, monasteries and castles. After conquering the fortress of Plauen, where Hussite parliamentarians had previously been liquidated, the invaders turned their attention to the

linge, "that the blood sprang on the walls and beams, which you can still see today--.

Horrifying reports of atrocities preceded the Bohemian hordes, but the reality is said to have surpassed the descriptions. Entire towns and "more **castles** than could be counted" went up in flames. Aussig was burned, Bayreuth was incinerated, Guben set ablaze, most of its inhabitants killed, the suburbs of Leipzig and Breslau turned to smoke. In Saxony and MeiBen, eight-ten towns and fourteen hundred villages were incinerated. Only some places withstood the storms unscathed, only some bought peace with huge sums of money, for example Eger, which was loyal to the king, and rich Nuremberg, which paid twelve thousand guilders.

In general, however, not much fuss was made. With fire
With the sword and the sword they struck people down in merciless campaigns of destruction, destroyed their homes, shot hundreds of stone balls into ruined castles and towns, hurled hundreds of barrels of carrion and excrement over the walls to poison the enemy. They c a u g h t people who had fallen out of windows with games and haystacks, cut crosses (Hussite chalices) into the foreheads of Catholics, buried priests in barrels of pitch or stabbed them at the altar. They devastated the ßat land, practiced scorched earth tactics, came in winter, and the survivors died of hunger. In short, t h e y l e f t a single trail of blood and corpses behind them, dead bodies like sheaves in the field - .

They also forced destitute prisoners into their own bloody service. Herds were looted en masse, thousands and thousands o f cattle, gold, clothes, everything that seemed useful and useful was stolen and transported on heavily loaded wagons with up to twenty horses as a lead in long treks to Bohemia, sometimes to Poland, where it was sold lucratively*.

Between all the terrible acts of robbery and murder, there were a number of major clashes. For example, on r6. June i q z6, when Prokop was **victorious** at Aussig over an Imperial army of equal strength under the Elector of Saxony**;** when howitzers and small arms under the protection of the wagon fortress defeated the attacking

Germans, whereupon the fugitives were driven between burning villages towards the Ore Mountains, granting no one any respite, not even the hordes of encircled knights who, kneeling with their swords stuck in the ground, begged for pardon, although they had not given it to the Hussites themselves - Christians among themselves.

Similarly - 4-2 at MieS and Tachau was a roughly one hundred and thou-

The German army of the Cross, led by Archbishop *Otto* of Trier and Frederick 1 of Brandenburg, was chased along the ridge of the Bohemian Forest and Germany. The cardinal legate Henry of Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, played an almost heroic role b y trying to stop the German troops, who were fleeing in panic from the Hussirs thundering towards them under Prokop, waving the papal banner and the image of the Holy Cross, and finally bursting into tears with the Elector of Brandenburg. And everything in Tachau, with the exception of the priests and children, was slaughtered by the victors after the town was stormed. Of course, the princes and other lords who spoke of a "list of the devil" had all given in.

Between 4* HRd 43- the church called for four crusades against the Hussites, for - holy wars, in which women were not allowed to be taken along, they were allowed to go to hay once a week and, if possible, were *not allowed t o* hear mass. This promoted the pious cause, served the bloody eradication of "heresy", but above all, as with the H u s s i t e s , s e r v e d the plundering.

Pope Martin V, since autumn 4* in the destroyed, unspeakably impoverished Rome, where at night the wolves howled in the Vatican Gardens and the dead scratched from the neighboring cemetery, remained implacable; he and his Cardinal Henry of Winchester tirelessly fomented the war. And under ecclesiastical influence, he

A general "Hussite tax" was also levied, a kind of bounty: a J guilder for the count, five guilders for the knight, one penny for the common man. And a Jew and a Jewess were to pay one guilder each. But the Hussites were there sooner than even a small part of the tax, which was moreover squandered. King Sigismund, whose warriors s u f f e r e d a devastating defeat against the Turks before Galambocz in Hungary at that time, whereby he

himself narrowly escaped ruin, sometimes solved pay and financial issues by plundering Prague's church treasures or pledging church property to greedy barons.

When, under Hussite pressure and increasing war weariness, negotiations were entered into and the Vemag, named after Beheimstein Castle, was concluded, it was the Pope who forbade any negotiations, any talks with "shameful and obstinate heretics" and demanded their subjugation by force. Until the very end, he hoped for "military successes in order to be able to dispense with negotiations with the Hussites" (Koller). The autocratic Colonna, who privileged his family excessively with estates and freedom from taxes, was not squeamish in other respects either, for example using ruthless violence in the Papal States (Seppelt). And if Martin had already directed his bull -Inter cunctas- against the Hussites on February i4i8, if he had already then, at the beginning of his pontificate - one of his first acts of government - instructed the cardirial legate Giovanni Dominici, together with the secular power, to eradicate "heresy" in Bohemia, he sent the new cardinal legate Giuliano Cesarini, the perennial President of the Council of Basel { ut --*43 7). to the Imperial Diet of Nuremberg.

The cardinal was obviously much more intent on preparing for the new war, the Fourth Crusade, than the king, who was not very interested. Cesarini also solemnly presented the cross to a crusade leader, the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, in Nuremberg in the summer, before he himself went into battle with a bodyguard of three hundred lance bearers as the sharpener of his own and, according to papal appointment, leader of the whole, from the idea of -heretic- extermination, as it is said,

• until it overflows.

Thus, when they advanced towards Pilsen in August, nothing remained alive. For what Albert Hauck said of the Hussites, "the juxtaposition of worship and murder is characteristic of Hussite piety", is equally true of Catholic piety. One

He beat up everything that was Bohemian, including women and children, even Catholics, a method of gaining sanctuary already known from earlier crusades. But when Prokopc's army approached, the largest he had ever had, allegedly more than fifty thousand men, when

affl•4 August at Taus, the earth roared with the onrushing Hussite chariots, the air was full of blaring trumpet blasts, battle cries and chants of "You who are God's warriors ... --, the Gortes warriors on the other side were gripped by cold horror. Then they turned back, almost without fcindcoritact,

everything rushed towards the Bohemian Forest, no matter what the cost, drunker and drunker, without weapons, luggage and stolen goods, with only three hundred of four thousand wagons, wedged i n t o t h e narrow paths, the evil enemy at their backs - chaos.

The cardinal legate Giuliano Cesarini sacrificed his bodyguard. They were massacred. He himself escaped, leaving behind the papal flag, his red hat and his cloak. It is said that he chased away on an unsaddled horse in his underwear - and had to flee again on the other side of the Bohemian Forest, only this time from his own angry henchmen, who also kept his wagon full of money and jewelry. In Nuremberg, however, where Sigismund waited for the whole thing to happen, the cardinal immediately urged the continuation of the holy spectacle, another "heretic" war, and complained to the pope by letter that "the laymen will attack us in the Hussite manner and destroy us, probably in the opinion that they a r e doing a godly work in this way".

Nevertheless, the resistance of the Taborites was weakened by the five-decade war and their superiority was broken by a newly created coalition of the Catholic nobility and the Utraquists, the moderate Hussites. Pushed out of Prague and the Pilsen region by this coalition, the Taborite armies were defeated on May 3o *434 at the Battle of Lipan (3o kilometers east of

Prague) w a s crushed, about thirteen thousand men - with

With the help of a stratagem, a mock escape - massacred, including Prokop. Only a few hundred prisoners remained, were put in barns and burned to death. Another uprising under the Czech nobleman and Hussite commander Jan Roháč z Dubé

collapsed. He was captured on September 6,•4i 7 at his castle of Sion and killed along with his comrades-in-arms three days later. In the same year, Sigismund, who was succeeded on the Bohemian and Hungarian throne by Albrecht V of Austria, died two years later on a campaign against the Turks.

The militant Hussite movement, which had kept Central Europe in suspense for a decade and a half, had played out with the defeat at Lipan, the radical wing was disempowered, the conservative wing settled on a meagre compromise, the Basel (or Prague) Compact. They allowed the Hussites to take communion in this form (sub utraque specie), thus permitting the chalice for Bohemia. It became national law, but neither the plenum of the Council of Basel nor the Pope confirmed it. And under George of Podieb- rad {iJ J8-iqyi), the "Hussite king", a new crusade was launched.

7- CHAPTER

CHRISTIAN EUROPE AT THE MIDDLE OF THE i y. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO POPE EUGEN IV, FURTHER JEWISH POGROMS AND THE GERMAN ORDER OF KNIGHTS

-Eugene IV (I§j-›44s)- The deeply pious new pope, perhaps too monkish and austere for his new task, characterized by goodness and charity, was to have a reign of his own.
Wilhelm Neuss'

-Rarely has the flcgi¢ration of another pope brought the same devastation and disaster to the provinces of the Roman Church. The lands ravaged by war, the cities devastated and smashed, the fields laid waste, the streets ravaged by robbers, more than five towns partly destroyed and partly plundered by soldiers have experienced every kind of fury. Many citizens were sold as slaves after the destruction of their city, many died of hunger in dungeons." Poggio Bracciolini, Italian humanist and papal secretary under Eugene IV*.

-The wars in the Papal States u n d e r this pope were more devastating than any before." "The daily sight of people with their heads or limbs cut off, nailed to the gates or imprisoned in cages or
The daily spectacle of criminals being hauled off t o t h e dungeons and to the stocks could shake even the hardened nerves of those living at the time.
Ferdinand Gregorovius'

-The Jews live in twiger bondage because of their guilt. The masters can therefore take everything away from them and leave them only the necessities of life ... -
Thomas Aquinas*

-Msn niüscc finally make a clean sweep. All Jews should be loaded onto ships as a community of faith and drowned on the open sea."
Recommendation of St. Johsnncs Capestrsno'

"In its own territories, the Order establishes a tyranny to which the clergy, -scin' clergy, must also bow. A 8bishop is placed in a vault of the
Church of Tapiau hei Königsherg forged on the wall, two knights must watch his death by starvation." -The crimes against humanity that have been well known to us since the fall of Poland, which are more
ale practiced permanently for two hundred years are genocide, i.e. genocide, the extermination of tribes,
The abduction of women and children, the enslavement of the able-bodied population and the deliberate elimination of the leading upper class.
Friedrich Heer-

In the late Middle Ages, the Christian church was in such a rotten state, in such a serious spiritual and secular decline, that the call for reform came ever louder from within it. However, it did not come from the ranks of the higher clergy or even from the circles around the pope, whose greed for power and money mobilized the critics - and repeatedly caused them to fail. Although the Council of Constance, like the Pisan Synod, also wanted to deal with the causa reformationis, it was completely overshadowed by the schism problem and the question of the church constitution, conciliarism, regardless of its five reform decrees.

CO N CI L **CO NTRA MA** PST

Conciliarism is understood to be the doctrine of general conciliarism as the highest ecclesiastical authority, to which the pope is also subject; either in principle, in strict, extreme conciliarism, or only in certain cases, in moderate conciliarism. The first view involves a kind of democratization, a disempowerment of the primatial rank, the sovereignty of the pope, while the other only touches on this in exceptional situations; between the two, various variations developed. The coriciliar idea was promoted above all by renowned theologians such as Marius of Padua, William of Ockham, Conrad of Gelnhausen, Dietrich of Niem, Franciscus Zabarella, Pierre d'Ailly and Jean de Gerson, but was also supported by princes such as Frederick II and Louis the Bavarian.

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On April 6, the Constance Church Assembly determined *4-y by the decree "Haec sancta- the superiority of the Council in matters of faith, schism and church reform in capite et membris. The C o u n c i l of Basel t*43*-*437 *449). the longest in the history of the church, which has seen the greatest flood of controversy

The Council of Churches, which arose before the Reformation and considered itself to be the legitimate representative of the whole Church as taught by the Holy Spirit, exacerbated conciliarism. It insisted on conciliar infallibility and dogmatized it on i 6 May i45 9 in the decision on the "Three truths", which are already contained in the Constance Decree - Haec sancta- decreed primacy of the General Council as - veritas fidei catholicae".

This was the culmination of conciliarism, but it was soon followed by its suppression and the victory of the monarchical-hierarchical system, even if the corporative-conciliarist idea continued to live on among renowned theologians of the i th and i6 th centuries.)ahr- Jahrhundert, especially in Gallicanism, partially in Jansenism, in Episcopalianism, among the Old Catholics, and even in the zo. It was discussed again in the 20th century in connection with the Second Vatican Council.

Between the Council of Basel and Martin V's successor, the Venetian merchant's son Gabriele Condulmer, who called himself Eugene lV, increasingly sharp disputes gradually began, as it was, as i s always the case in politics, a question of power.

Eugene IV- l -4i ---'§y) waf by Gregory XII, his uncle, •4 7 he became bishop, in 9o8 cardinal, then, as a compromise candidate between the Colonna and Orsini, pope himself. Brusque, undiplomatic, jealous o f his prerogatives, the papal plenitudo potestatis defended by all means, he worked Throughout his stormy pontificate in the sterig grow- the i'tonfiikt against the conciliarist forces of Basel.

At the same time, Eugen turned against the largely mo-

The pragmatic sanction, which was introduced on July 7 *438 The French clerical convention in Bourges issued by Charles

VII and adapted to the interests of the Crown.

Ordonnance. In these decrees, the king maneuvered between the Council and the Pope, thus creating a Gallican national church without any formal definition. As a result, the funds sent from France to the Curia fell by zo percent.

Despite this, Eugene IV introduced the triumph of the anti-conciliarist papal idea over the cor- porative constitutional principle. He dissolved the council in December iq3I dtif, recognized it again two years later under massive military pressure in Italy, but moved the assembly as a counter-synod first to Ferrara, then to Florence. And from there they insulted the Basel prelates as -&tt- lerpack, vulgar fellows from the lowest dregs of the clergy, apostates, blasphemous rebels, blasphemers, goneslästerep Galgcnvögel, men who without exception only deserve to be chased back to the devil from whence they came".

The rump council in Basel, denounced in this way, deposed the pope on *z5.* June 1439 £tlS SChismatics and heretics, but demanded in vain an armed registered letter against him and elected on November 5, another pontiff, which meant a new schism.

Felix V (*439-*449l. as the widowed Duke Aniadeus VIII of Savoy, a layman, became the last antipope to date. R e s i d i n g mostly in Lausanne during his term of office, he had obviously hoped for more. He considered himself insufficiently endowed with benefices and rights, and also had problems with the radical conciliarism of the (since summer•44 in Lausanne) Basel Synod, which for its part is once again financially and politically disappointed with Pope Felix. Shortly before the dissolution decided on xy. April xJ4 q he resigned. NiÜO)ätlS li1*447 4s s) appointed the ex-rival as Cardinalbi- of Sabina, as the permanent legal representative for Savoy, for the of his former obedience, and awarded him a high lifelong pension from the apostolic chamber, which he admittedly did not enjoy for long. Already on y. January iqyi he died in Geneva as a -Ensiedler - (Knöpßer), probably the richest hermit who ever lived.'°

G ROSSE'S K ö PFERO **LLEN** UTTER KAR D1NAL G I OVAN N I ŸITELLES CH I, THE "BELOVED SON" OF THE **ŸAPST**

In Italy, dominated by turmoil and battles that were to plague the country for almost a hundred years, Pope Eugene IV (whose clan played a major role in the Mediterranean cloth trade, but also provided several prelates) initially fought alongside Veriedig and Florence, the largest trading centers. His main opponents were Milan and NeapeĺÍ, above all Filippo Maria Visconti, the Duke of Milan, but also the Colonna, the nephews of his predecessor, whom he, the nepot of Gregory XII, and himself again a 'zealous' patron of his own nephews Giovanni Fraricesco and Marco, immediately confronted with war while still in Maİ *43 E bauxite and in the Papal States.
pulled.

Marńn V, the predecessor, had given **his** relatives **enormous** territories, which his successor now snatched back from them, during which over two hundred people died in Rome in a "treason trial", some in prison, some on the scaffold. The Co- lonna, who planned to assassinate Eugene, the Visconti, the Council of Basel, they had all fomented the uprising against him, the Romans had once again proclaimed a republic. Thus the pope had to be recognized, persecuted, attacked and shot at in a dignified but appropriate manner, despite his disguise as a monk, in June 434 with the sea pirate Vitelliu5 from Ischia in a boat on the Tiber."

During his nine-year exile, mostly in Florence, Giovanni Vitelleschi, his "beloved son", a former "robber chief" (Kühner) and a witness of the "great war", was in charge in Rome and the Papal States.
-cruel, unscrupulous man of war - {Seppelt), whom he i s i 7 appointed cardinal, a regiment of terror. In battles lasting many years, he exterminated everything that resisted him. With fire and sword, niit
4ooo horsemen and zooo foot soldiers, h e wrestled his opponents to the ground, had their **heads** cut off in turn, occasionally one, the Count Antonio Scantino, hanging from an olive tree, dragging

another, a certain Poncelletto, through Rome, with glowing

He also murdered Pie Tro Gentile with his own hand, whom he lured to Recanati and strangled - and largely regained the Papal States.

The papal troops conquered all the forts of the prefects of Vico {p. 54), and in 14i4 Giovanni Vitelleschi, with the help of the Orsini, also put Rome at his master's feet. The next year he had the last exponent of this old Germanic family, always mortally hostile to the popes, the rebellious city prefect Giovanni di Vico, an ally of the Colonna, beheaded, whereupon Eugene seized his estates and gave his beloved son Virelleschi the archbishopric of Rome.

Florence and the patriarchal dignity. -In 437, the brutal prelate razed the starving Palestrina, the capital of the Co- Íonna, to the ground and won the łЄardinal purple by capturing Antonio Orsini, the Prince of Taranto.

Vitelleschi ruined Palestrina even more thoroughly than he had done under Boniface VIII (VII 38g If.!), ripping off its thorn and using the marble portals for his own palace. In a constant war against the barons, he further destroyed the fortress of Zagarolo defended by Lorenzo Colonna down to the ground; defeated Niccolò Savelli, whose ancient ancestral castle near Albano he had razed to the ground; also defeated Corrado Trinci after months of besieging Foligno. Not much later, Corrado was executed along with his sons Ugolino and Niccolò, and the House of Trinci, which had also produced several bishops in the last hundred years, died out.

However, Giovanni VitelÍeschi did not live to see this. In the meantime, the purple-crowned warhorse had fallen out of favor with Pope Eugene due to his ever-growing power and had himself either been wounded or murdered as a prisoner in Castel Sant'Angelo. The bailiff of the castle, Antonio Rido, had a written order from the Pope to seize Vitelleschi alive or dead {Gregorovius). Eugene, however, collected the castle and goods of the slain cardinal as well as a sum of money ¡with jewels) of 3oo ooo ducats.

The Lexikon íür Theologie und Kirche does not mention Giovanni Vitelleschi at all in its 3rd, completely new edited edition root.

even - ungratefully in view of all his merits, he put yes, according to the first edition• 9i , -as legate of Eugene IV October rq 3q restored papal rule over Rome ... - And over a large part of the Papal States.

Vitelleschi was succeeded by Eugene's new favorite, the Cardinal Scarampo, also a man of the worst kind, who had executions carried out daily in Rome. But robbery, blood feuds and atrocities of all kinds filled the city. Even clergymen of the Lateran stole the precious stones from the hats of the alleged apostle chiefs and were then displayed for days in a cage on the Campo di Fiore before being hanged or burned.

Eugene IV, the former Augustinian hermit, is usually portrayed as an awe-inspiring figure, as an ascetic, -monkishly serious- (Seppelt), -strictly moral" {Schuchert/Schütte), -extremely pious'- {Kelly), -saintly religious" {Schnürer), -characterized by kindness and charity- *Neuss).* Yet even the Catholic Dictionary of Theology and the Church (i qq 5) attests to his -brutal use of force-. For example, when the canonized Carmelite Thomas Conecte publicly castigated the utterly depraved morals of the Curia, the Holy Father had him tortured and burned. which he was then also scheming and disloyal in his wars in the Papal States, fighting with and against his friends depending on the circumstances, turning friends into fierce enemies and opponents into allies.'-.

Eucxxs C I RCH EN UN ION

The highlight of this papal **government** was the church union with Byzantium at the Council of Ferrara-Florencei•437—•‹ 3q). However, the matter was only a success for the pope himself.

The Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (idzj- zgq8) had already personally requested military assistance from Hungary and Venice on behalf of his father Manuel II, besieged by the Ottomans who were already besieging Constantinople,

but in vain. However, as the attacks by the Turks increased in the following years, Byzantium, which was increasingly under threat, negotiated with the West once again, with the union trial becoming a poĺitical issue between the Pope and the Council of Basel. Both rivals courted the Greeks, both sent a flotilla, and the Greek delegation did not vow to leave immediately before departure,

with whom sic would sail, until on October i 8 - 4i 7 the basileus, zo metropolitans and a swarm of monks, a total of 700 people, boarded Eugene's ships.'-.

The Eastern Christians were undoubtedly not driven by religious conviction, but by the ever-increasing danger, the need for protection, the shrinking of their empire, the Turkish plight. Byzantium needed troops, a holy war; crawling to the Romans was an act of pure desperation. Pope Eugene, however, who hoped for ecclesiastical union and a considerable gain in prestige and power, even vis-à-vis the Basques, simply took advantage of the situation.

After long dogmatic-theological haggling over primacy, purgatory, the filioque in particular, according to which the Holy Spirit emanates from the Father *and the Son* and is finally accepted both "a filio" and "per filium"), after political and financial pressure, after many humiliations and unpleasantries

the unification decree "Laeten- tur coeli", the so-called Florentine Union, was signed on . J- ' '43 q. 7 Ateirians signed and 33 Greeks, only two of whom refused. But the

The cause was short-lived; *47- it was solemnly and formally rejected by the Eastern Church.

The Latins celebrated the event with a Latin mass, but brusquely refused Emperor John's request to participate in a Greek Eucharistic celebration. As always, the West ruled when it had the power. The mood of the Byzantines, however, was depressed. The majority of the signatories returned home embittered, ashamed and also recanted. Indeed, Emperor John VIII did not promulgate the union in Constantinople, where a growing opposition regarded the Florentinum as treason, until the very end.

But when, after John's death, his brother and successor Constantine XI, the last to fall in the battle for Constantinople

Emperor of Byzantium, shortly before proclaiming the union, hoping - completely in vain - for more easily accessible Western military aid, he met with unanimous disapproval. Even one of the highest Christian dignitaries of the empire is said to have declared:
-We would rather have the power of the Turkish turban than that of the
of the Lareinian tiara in our city.

Is that surprising? The Byzantines harbored a deep suspicion of the West. The horrific murder and plundering after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders i {VII 9y ff.!) was unforgotten. But who knew where help from the West against the Turks would lead? Perhaps not only to the endangerment of Byzantine Orthodoxy, but to the endangerment of the Byzantine state in general? Perhaps Latin rule would be worse than Turkish rule? Would it not bring liberation, but rather permanent enslavement by papism and its followers, the complete Latinization of Greekness?

There were some beginnings of this. It was precisely under Eugene IV, as a direct consequence of the Church Union, that a decades-long crusade policy began against the Ottoman Empire, which had become a great power in the4 and by. The Ottoman Empire, which had risen to become a great power in the 16th century, and whose counter-crusades had long been
had begun.

Dix TOnK EN VERNICHTEN Bvzaxz

By i 3oo, many provinces of Asia Minor in Constantinople were already Turkish. Then their old metropolises there are also lost, x 3 zS Prusa, i 3 x Nikeia, i 337 Nikomedeia. Already r 35a he-
the invaders on the Sea of Marmara built the first fortress on the Balkans. In relatively rapid succession, they Il$4 take the Dar Danellen fort of Gallipoli, I36z Adrianople, where the Ottoman sultan now resides, some too kilometers behind Constantinople.
diert37 The King of Bulgaria becomes a Turkish vassal. i 38y The aggressors gain Thessalonica'. *3sy definitively Macedonia, which

was already largely subject to tribute.

In 38q, the Turks triumphed in the famous and bloody battle of Kosovo polje (Blackbird Field), the -serbian demonization of the gods. Philippe de Mézieres, the contemporary French author, planner of the "Mi1itia Passionis" and influential advocate of the crusade idea, speaks of zo ooo dead, including both commanders. The Turkish chronicler Nesri, who wrote later, notes: -Mountains of corpses rose on the battlefield, heads fell to the ground like sand ..."

After this debacle, the Turks dominated the entire Balkans.

Of course, the Christians repeatedly marched against the unbelieving Colofi, whose soldiery was the most powerful military machine in Europe and whose elite units (Janissaries), recruited from the forcibly converted sons of Christian subjects, were of paramount importance in the battle. For a long time, however, Europeans saw these wars waged with the slogans and symbols of the Crusades as nothing more than a continuation of the armed pilgrimages o f old.

Only a few years after the Serbian fiasco in Kosovo polje, in 5OtTim*' *3Q6, King Sigismund of Hungary led a pan-European crossroads authorized by both popes, ai-

The battle, one of the last crusader armies ever, along the lower Danube against the fortress of Nicopolis and into a disaster. The Christians, some io ooo Hungarian, Italian, German and French knights, were no match for the enemy army under the first Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I, neither in terms of organization, discipline nor tactics, making the same military mistakes as they had three hundred years before" {Heer), having "learned nothing in all the centuries" (Runciman).

Sigismund himself narrowly escaped. Prisoners could only buy their freedom, if they survived, by paying huge ransoms. Thousands fell again, including Jean de Vienne, the Admiral of France, a lifelong warrior, still clutching the Marian banner entrusted to him in death.

With this battle, which opened up the interior of the Balkans to the invaders, panic against the Turks began to grip the whole of Europe,

began the long-lasting myth of their unbeatability, the pagan scum from the East became identified with Gog and Magog, a kind of manifestation of the devil's kingdom.'-.

One cross bull is now chasing the other.

Without aiming for completeness, let us register only Xreuz bulls from the first decades of the i century, even if by no means all of them are to the Turks or Moors and not every call is heeded.

i doo Cross bull in favor of Emperor Manual 11. Palaiologos vs. the Turks
'405 Cross bull against Tamerlan (Timur)
*4 S Bull of the Cross in favor of King Sigismund of Hungary against the Turks
*4** Bull of the Cross by Gregory XII against his rivalJ hann XXIII.
*4*3 Bull of the Cross of John XXIII against King Ladislaus of Naples
1420 Bull of the Cross against the
1421 Hussites Bull of the Cross
1427 against the Hussites Bull of the
1431 Cross against the Hussites
1434 Two cross bulls against the Hussites
1436 Cross bull for Albania against the Turks
*437 Bull of the Cross for the King of Portugal against the Moors Bull
*43 of the Cross for the **King** of **Castile** against Granada Bull of the
44 Cross for Hungary against the Turks
*443 Bull of the Cross for the King of Portugal against the Moors Bull of the Cross for the King of Portugal against the Moors.'-

i44 3 is also followed by a bull of the cross for the whole of Christendom against the Turks. A move sought by Pope Eugene IV to chase the aggressors out of Europe. The Polish-Hungarian king Wla-

dislaw III Jagiello and his commander John Hunyadi, who443 -n the head of a crusading force advanced as far as Sofia, **had** already achieved several successes against the Turks and concluded a favorable peace **with** them on i. August i "4 and concluded a favorable peace with them.

However, incited by the papal legate Giuliano Cesari- ui, the peace was terminated and the Ottoman army suffered a catastrophic defeat at the hands of Sultan Murad II. On November 11, they suffered a catastrophic defeat in Varna against the Ottoman army commanded by Sultan Murad II. King Vladislav III, the papal le- gate, but also3 oo Turks landed death.ze

This is followed by further cross-bulls against the detainees, i 8 but the Christians, causing a great stir, lend a second shaft to Kosovo potje. And then zq. With4 i they even betrayed Constantinople. Largely abandoned by the West,

Supported *only* by a few Venetian galleys and a few hindered pirates under the then famous Genoese pirate Giovanni Giustiniani, i5o ooo, z6y ooo or even more Turks invade Constantinople after almost eight weeks of siege, shouting Allah. Sultan Mehmer II rides high into the Hagia Sophia, once built by the Emperor ustinianiJ (II 37 i), the praise of the prophet resounds from the pulpit, thousands of Christians are robbed, violated, stabbed, 5o ooo are led into slavery.

With these blows, Byzantium was destroyed, the fate of the Eastern Roman Empire eberiso sealed, as was that of the Balkans, even if on July ze. July iqy6 the miracle of Be1grad took place and John Hunyadi, barely three weeks later a victim of the plague, was able to fend off the Turkish onslaught on the city with a motley but predominantly Hungarian crusader force.

It is not only the lexicon of the Middle Ages that attributes a "considerable part - in Belgrade's rescue to Johannes Capestrano, the h! persecutor and burner of Jews (p.*4 ff.), as he went forward in the midst of the thickest fighting with a crucifix in his hand and shouted -as loud as he could", as Ludwig Donin states in his many-volume work on the -Saints of God-: -Victory -Jesus! Victory", and also ordered his soldiers to shout the same cry as - leader, supreme and commander of the cross troops-. ryu, however, the infidels take Belgrade, whose strategic importance is due to the Turkish wars grows, eridgültig one. x5 cq they stand before Vienna, the "golden city of the West", according to Turkish chroniclers. And

in 1683 they stand before it once again."

T H E H U N D Y E A R CR IP $l3*7 413)
GOES TO ExDE

i4f 3, in the same year that Constantinople falls into the hands of Islam, the Hundred Years' War also ends. While the Turks conquered Byzantium and the Balkans and destroyed the Christians there, France and England continued to fight each other.

At the turn of the i y. The conflict seemed to die down around the turn of the i yth century, and a marriage even took place between the daughter of the French King Charles Vl, the seven-year-old Isabella, and King Richard II.

In early - 4 he died in the captivity of Henry V. And in August - 4- y, the English invasion took place with 1400 ships in the Seine estuary. The fortified war port and naval base of Harßeur was only taken with great effort

l -4 i was regained by the French), around 8ooo inhabitants were expelled and Englishmen settled.

In the same year, on zy. October i q i 5, in one of the most famous battles of the war, a numerically far inferior English army defeated a French army at Agincourt (French: Azin- court), north of Hesdin, mainly thanks to the English archers. They could shoot up to twelve arrows per minute, pierce armor from zoo meters away and were only replaced by small arms in the late 6th century. The devastating rain of arrows literally pinned Charles VI's cavalry to the rain-soaked ground at Agincourt, and Henry V's subsequent cavalry charge swept them completely to the ground. The English, who, on the orders of their king, took no prisoners apart from princes, suffered only minor losses, while the French suffered thousands of casualties, including several dukes. Also

4•4 After the Battle of Verneuil (Normandy), before which both sides vowed to t a k e no prisoners, an English victory bulletin boasted of 7,3z enemy killed.

The foreign and domestic political consequences of these catastrophes paralyzed France for a generation and brought large parts of the country to its knees.

Normandy under English control. It was not until -4i3 that Charles VII. conquer all British-held territories on the mainland, with the exception of Calais, and put an informal end to the Hundred Years' War.

We will leave the further Christian massacres of the violent Anglo-French confrontation to one side, as well as the fact that the long conflict, which was terribly devastating and destructive for France, also caused great suffering in other European countries due to the interplay of needs: France, Castile, Portugal and the Dutch provinces. But while the Islamic Ottomans raged in the East, in the West not only did Christian Englishmen and Christian Frenchmen beat each other bloodily, but civil wars also raged in their own countries, with Englishmen attacking Englishmen and Frenchmen attacking Frenchmen.

PEASnnTs' Rzvo cT

In England, for example, the Peasants' Revolt, Wat Tyler's Rebellion, the first major social uprising, took place in the spring of i 8i.5

This was the first riot in English history. For, as so often, this was not just a peasant riot, there had been riots by other oppressed social groups, especially in the cities, there had always been great urban poverty, finally "workers" statutes directed against the working people, and finally bans on meetings of congresses, conver'ticles and assemblies without permission from the authorities. And of course there were also building walls in England before that. But they were always put down with an iron hand and the help of the king, especially by the monasteries, the abbots who were intent on protecting and defending their rights. And things were not going to be much different now.

The economic crisis caused by serfdom, bondage, tax pressure (due to the restart of the war against France under Richard

II) and those exploited by the high feudal burdens had risen up, often led by the peasant upper class and lower clergy. The revolt, which gripped many counties and often began with the removal of tax collectors, the burning of tax lists and the registers of feudal dues, was aimed at the perpetrators of the economic hardship, the owners of the large latifundia. From the outset, it showed sharp anti-feudal traits, the rage especially against the church, which was said to have owned a third of the land, and expressed indignation against bishops, abbots, the rich convents in particular, who were robbed, ruined and whose livestock was driven away.

In London, part of the population, especially the proletariat, had also revolted, similarly in Cambridge, where, among other things, Christ's College was attacked. There were also riots in Norfolk and Suffolk. The head of the **prior** of Bury St. Edmunds fell. The heads of many high-ranking people rolled. Archbishop Simon Sudbury of Canterbury, who had also been Chancellor since the previous year, was also dragged from the chapel of the Tower, where he had sought refuge, by the mob and beheaded; his seat, Lambeth Palace, was destroyed; similarly, the house of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was also Prior of the Knights Hospitaller, and his possessions were reduced to ashes.

In a strange delusion, the rebels' anger is never directed at the king, the embodiment of justice. He acted a c c o r d i n g l y . Under pressure from the rebels, the young Richard II conceded almost everything that was demanded of him, and soon afterwards he put down the revolt in conjunction with the nobility, including the pugnacious Bishop of Norwich, Henry Despenser {who shortly afterwards also led a disastrous crusade to Flandem).

And now the heads of the rising, especially its two most important leaders, fell: Wat Tyler, murdered on June i 5th in a meeting with King Richard, the -embodiment of righteousness-, and the clergyman John Ball, called by the Commons a -right and just man", hanged, disemboweled, quartered and his image defiled by the contemporary church on July i 5th, also in the presence of the king. Tyler had ordered the elimination

The rebels demanded the abolition of all distinctions of rank and all but one episcopal see, as well as the confiscation of all church property in favor of the laity. John Ball, freed from a Ken- ter prison at the start of the rebellion, is even said to have called for the killing of all lords, justices and royal officials {in a sermon beginning: eWhan Adam dalf [grub] and Eve span f Wo [\Per] was thanne a geritilmari?") This, at any rate, is what a contemporary &nedictineq by the ardent **Wycliffe** and Lollarden opponent Thomas Walsingham claims. Ball, however, called for neither communism nor community of goods, but a kind of Christian democracy.

"No nobleman was sure of his life and property", reads in Pierer's old universal encyclopedia and then learns that the noblemen themselves resolved the difficult situation "with the execution of almost i 5oo ringleaders".^

The next few decades in England were devoted, among other things, to the struggle against "heresy", the Wyclifites and the Lollards, the only major heretical movement in the country, which was strongly influenced by them.

Based on the Bible in the vernacular, the Lolards, who found support in all circles and continued into the i 6th century, rejected the primacy of the pope, the sacraments, the veneration of images, pilgrimage and especially female church ownership, but held state authority in high esteem. The contemporary chroniclers, however, were unreservedly zealous against these Christians. T h e y were searched for, their steps were followed, and with their increase, church and state persecution intensified and the laws against heretics were tightened. - 4 i - for the first time in England - heretics were threatened with the death penalty. -4 3 *4*4

a revolt of the Lollards broke out on i_5 . December i4 7 >*--
Their leader, Sir John Oldcastle, the former friend of Henry V, was burned on the gallows.'-.

THEMANAGEMENTS

In those decades, the conflict between royalty and nobility developed particularly instructive in England. Initially under Richard II (*377—• i gq), who coveted more power, unrestricted royal power. So he executed a number of aristocratic opponents. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas of Arundel (who was the first to forbid the translation of the Bible into other languages), was banished before he was finally exiled.

King, Henry Bolingbtoke (Henry IV) captured in July Ii9- and apparently saw to it that he died in prison the following year, according to an unattributed source, by starvation.

Henry IV (° 399"*4 *31 SØtztß *4 í l U c h the Scottish King James I for i8 years in the Tower of London, had his cousin Duke Murdoch and his family killed and their estates confiscated after his release, before he was murdered in Perth Abbey as the victim of a noble conspiracy. Henry IV fought not only against the Wyclifites, but also against the increasing number of

and the outside world inside, so -4 . *4 3- *4 5. *4 : among other things, a revolt by the Archbishop of York, Richard Scrope, who was executed, whereupon he was celebrated as a martyr.

Three rebellions were triggered by the Percies alone, a British noble family to whom Henry owed his kingship. In the Battle of Shrewsbury (• 4 3) fÏel Henry - Hotspurs, only son of Henry, E8rt of Northumberland, against the king. Two Days later, he had Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, and other insurgents killed. And*4 8 Henry, Earl of Northumbria, was also killed in the Battle of Bramham Moor {Yorkshire). Henry IV undertook several military campaigns to Scotland as well as to the against the resisting Welshman Farsi Owain Glyn Dwr (Shakespeare's -Glendower-), whose family was imprisoned while he himself disappeared.*'

The turmoil, unrest and aristocratic feuds barely abated. In the middle of the century, "Jack Cade's Rebellions" took place in Kent, a victory over an army loyal to the king.

and craftsmen; to London, where Henry VI is softened up and his Lord Treasurer executed, before John (Jack) Cade is also eliminated on ia. July iJ5o in Kent. Shortly before this, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, a previous favorite of the king, was also banished by the king and executed on 1 < " ' 4so at the
The ship w a s mysteriously killed after embarking for France.
{His grandson Edmund has i y i 3 Henry VIII liquidated). Finally,
Henry VI comes to the fore in the power struggles of the kings.
He is repeatedly imprisoned in the so-called Wars of the Roses, with more than 6o weeks of campaigns, land and sea battles, and is himself murdered in the Tower after a massacre at Tewkesbury iqy i, where many Lancastrian lords and knights who had been taken prisoner of war are p u t t o the sword.

It also happened, however, that various English factions in the French Civil War formed coalitions with rival groups and, together with the French, fought against each other. This was particularly the case in the great conflict between the houses of Orléans and Burgundy, the Armagnacs and Bourguignons, two factions that had been feuding for decades in early i yth century France. These two feuding parties had been at loggerheads for decades.

On the one side stood Count Bernhard VII of Arma- gnac (i3s -- *4*) and the House of Orléans related to him by marriage, in particular Louis, Duke of Orléans, the younger brother of the {since *39 ^ <"itweise mentally ill, i q zz in deep derangement die, but p o p u l a r with the people) King Charles Vl. On the other side, with the Bourguignons, Duke Louis' uncle, Duke Philip the Bold, founder of the House of Burgundy, fought, and after his death (- 4 4) his son Duke John "Without Fear" (Jean
"sans Peur") continued the fight.

As instructed, John's followers cruelly murdered Duke Louis of Orléans on xy. On xy Novem- bCf *4o7, Duke Louis of Orléans was cruelly murdered in the open street; a theologian from Paris, Jean Petit, in his infamous
-Justification- as -tyrannicide- -publicly justifiable crime. Burgundy had bought the **Parisian** priest, who -always represented the prevailing view", the year before (finer: as a

"paid council in his service: Autrand). And on io. September•4*9 , journeymen of the Dauphin, the late King Charles VII, set sail in his presence and with his consent.

The Burgundian duke John -Ohnefurcht" was treacherously killed during negotiations on the bridge of Montereau, 88 km south-east of Pafis, when John bowed before the dauphin. Two of John's companions also fell. However, the dauphin paid the duke's murderers large pensions.

The civil war waged back and forth between these two agendas; for example, John supported the Bishop of Liège, John of Bayern "Ohnegnade- (-sans Pitié-} z4o8 in the bloody battle of Othée against his rebellious diocesans; Paris was sometimes taken b y one party, sometimes by the other; after that, the city was repeatedly murdered, imprisoned and chased away; there was, among other things, the brutal elimination of the Connétable Armagnac, severe social riots and massacres. Among other things, the Connétable Armagnac was brutally eliminated, there were serious social riots and massacres.

A HExE BECOMES H EI LI G

The symbolic figure of the French resistance against England, the most popular remnant of the Hundred Years' War, was Joan of Arc (called "la Pucelle", the girl), later honored by Voltaire, by 5chiller, Shaw, Brecht, Anouilh and others.

Born in a village in Lorraine on the Meuse, the daughter of a wealthy farmer from Domrémy had been a home to various saints since her 3rd year. Year various saints came to stay. First the archangel Michael (and later her pious judges wanted to know if he had been naked}. Then St. Katharina, St. St. Catherine, St. Margaret, other saints and gradually she is able to summon them as she wishes. But she, too, was given orders and continued to hear men who, in the final years, ordered her almost daily to drive the English out of France and Charles VII, whom she had chosen as

-Daughter of God- recommends to be consecrated king in Reims.

The Dauphin receives the illiterate woman, then about eighteen, on March 6, *4*s in a rather hopeless situation in Chi- non, a castle on the Loire. There, in Poitiers, she spent weeks interrogating theologians, lawyers, councillors of the prince and at-
attest to her purity and orthodoxy. Charles's mother-in-law and other experienced ladies also testify to her virginity after a certain amount of exploration, and so she is allowed to march against Orléans with a large army on a noble horse (she never rebukes courtly pomp, and she sent the bill for her own expensive outfit to the king), armed like a knight. On zq. April
*4-q she conquers the city, whereupon she begins to be called the Maid of Orleans. She also liberates Reims, and Charles is consecrated king there on i.•7 J

The mood has long been upbeat, enthusiasm has been kindled, people are hoping for new splendor for the kingdom, awaiting the liberation of Paris. But then the male virgin runs out of luck. On September 8, her advance against the capital, defended by the English, Burgundians and many Parisians, failed. Yes, on a3. May iq3o, John of Luxembourg, Count of Ligny, who had surrendered to England, took her prisoner during an attack from the surrounded Compiegne. And since the Archbishop of Reims, Regnault de Chartres, refuses to ransom her, and the king, who owes her the crown, does not lift a finger for her (apart from the fact that he ennobles her and her family in the De- zembe*•4 -g), nor later to the pope or to
appeals to the Council of Basel, she will appeal to the British government.
and, at the insistence of the University of Paris, handed over to a tribunal of inquisition, an ecclesiastical, a French authority, because the British, although thirsting for revenge for their military defeats at the hands of Joan, leave the
-The "dirty work", however, goes to the French.

Under the presidency of Pierre Cauchon {same name as Cochon, pig), the Bishop of Beauvais, Jean le Maitre, the Vice-Iriquisitor of France, and with half a hundred clerical assessors (and more than a hundred witnesses in Paris, Orleans and Rouen), Jean d'Arc is now made between cx. February and the end of May•43 in the castle of Rouen, Jean d'Arc was made a

a decidedly political trial that tears down the French in the service of the English cause. Conducted as a typical inquisition trial with all the dirty tricks, except for torture, Joan was condemned, all alone in front of a horde of hateful judges, for her devilish voice, her male attire, her disobedience to the Church, for sorcery and witchcraft, for blasphemy, cruelty, shamelessness, arrogance and a shock of other sins. And on May 3o, she was burned on the old market square in Rouen, not without Monseigneur Cauchon, who had conducted the whole process with disgusting zeal, having first asked the secular judiciary to "moderate their judgment on you without killing and mutilating your limbs". She is burnt alive - on a particularly small pyre so that she can suffer for hours. Then her ashes are scattered in the Seine.

Leading theologians and canonists at the time all endorsed the Verdammurig with their signatures. 94 but he the same church declares Jean d'Arc worthy of veneration, iqoq becomes she was beatified, iqao canonized.

A YO U N D E R IS ALSO H I G H T

In all the battles against external and internal enemies, the Christians never persecuted the Jews.

Certainly, some popes issued them letters of protection, as they had done earlier (VII million ff.), even at the end of the Middle Ages, and forbade inflammatory speeches by the clergy. Pope Martin V, for example, who - under the influence of St. John Capestrano - revoked his protection just a few months later and in the bull "Sedes Apostolica", recognizing to his "greatest dismay" the obstinacy and disobedience of Jews of both sexes, now accused them of "fraud", "Wickedness- -shameful things and crimes-.-°

Similarly, Martin's successors take back their protective bulls.

Instead, in a decree of 8 August, Eugene IV prohibits Jews and Saracens in Castile and León from taking interest from Christians. He prohibited any coexistence with Jews and Moors. They must live in special quarters in cities, may neither eat and drink with Christians nor bathe with them, nor attend their weddings and funerals, nor accept any hospitality with them, nor vice versa. Jews and Moors should not be brokers and moneychangers, nor should they be apothecaries and doctors for Christians. They are not allowed to visit sick Christians, give them medicine or sell certain foods. They are not allowed to have Christian servants, farm laborers, herdsmen, be stewards of the king or any Christian lord, o r bear arms.

His Catholic opponents in Basel were quite as anti-Jewish as Eugene lV. The Council *43d solemnly renewed the entire anti-Jewish legislation of the Church, but not only repeated old decrees, but also added new ones, demanded the exclusion of Jews from the universities and justified forced preaching.

Eugene's successor NikOlăuS V. (*447-*4 5s) soon followed
The Church no longer stood up for the almost ostracized, but forbade Christians to have any contact with the "Jews", who were becoming fresher by the day, banned them from holding any office and also renewed numerous old anti-Jewish church laws.

ith this closed anti-Jewish phalanx of Klecus and his ongoing agitation against theJ , their continued persecution - in honor of God and the Holy Virgin - is only consistent.

As before the Crusades, the Jews, especially in Bavaria and Austria, were also pursued before the Hussir Wars and were then fleeced financially for these wars by a third of their entire wealth, a specialty of King Sigismund, who could not push the exploitation of his victims far enough. First he guaranteed to protect them from special taxes for a long time, which he naturally paid dearly for. Then he shorted

he did not honor his promise, but rather demanded more and more new taxes. -If you go against this, we will have to punish you in body and property, which you would be sorry for, because you go against our royal commandment."

In Austria, Duke Albrecht V, Sigismund's son-in-law and a zealous supporter of the so-called Melk Reform, not only accused the Jews of having links to the Hussites, but apparently also believed the stories of their - mostly successful - sacrilege of the host.} In any case, after one such alleged case, he had the Jews in his lands arrested and their property confiscated. As was often the case, many killed themselves in order to avoid forced baptism. But those who refused to become Christians became Christians the next year, both men and women, near Vienna, according to a contemporary source more than i 3oo people were b u r n e d at the stake, and all Jews were banished from Austria "for eternity".

Larger pogroms also took place in Prague in 3q8, i ąo4 in Salzburg, - 4 in Segovia, - 4 ä 3 in Breslau. In Speyer the Jews were expelled iąoy and -435 - Trier the Archbishop -4- 8 let them leave, not without first ordering the eradication of all shaĺds.
In Mainz, there were - 4- and i ą38 expulsions. During the same period, Jews were also expelled from Cologne, Augsburg, Freiburg, Ravensburg and Vienna.

In Herzogenaurach on z5. Aprił i ą za the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg and the two burgraves decided not to allow any more J e w s t o live in the Franconian land. But what was to result from this was to be divided equally into 3 parts, of which the two bishops were to receive two parts and the two margraves one third." Christian debtors of Jews were only to pay the principal sum of their debts, but not to the Jews, but to their lord! All annals of Schweinfurt report the year i q44 without any indication of a grand, that "some Jews allhie' ver- have been burned".

The Jewish community in Erfurt was sold off at4 J 8, after the city council paid Archbishop Dietrich von Main* 7°OOGulden

paid. A lawsuit brought before the Imperial Chamber Court of the Jews was made possible by the intervention of the Pope, the Archbishop but cost the city a lot of money, not to- last bribe - {Patze).

The Jews were expelled from Zurich -4-i› finally*4¡ 6 - -gott und unser lieben Vrouwen ze lob und ereri-. From Bern chased m8ft SIS 4 >7. from Geneva 1454 And 49- Also from Villerieuve, Burg- dorf, Schaffhausen one exiÏted the prisoners at that time. And•4 s it was generally decided that they would not be escorted for ever.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the clergy was as merciless against the Jews as elsewhere (VII do6 ff.!), even trying to control them down to the smallest detail, even their beards and hairstyles. However, while their fellow believers in Germany or France almost always preferred death to "conversion", the Spanish Jews often converted to Christianity with their most learned and wealthiest members at risk - a Christian tactic that had already been practised extensively against the pagans in antiquity. The Jewish -conversos- or -Christiani novi-, who secretly remained Jews despite being baptized, were called "marranos" {probably derived from the Spanish "marrana", pig), in Jewish texts "Anussim" (forced ones).

Marrans have existed on the Iberian Peninsula since Visigothic times, but their history and persecution only culminated during the {Spanish) Inquisition in the iyth century. century. And the - blood purity - {limpieza de sangre) demanded of Christians from that time onwards was demanded in some customs up until the i qth century. century. The Murraria went to mass, to the sacraments, they had their children baptized, but secretly observed the rules of the Jewish religion. This is how the baptized]uds were finally martyred in Toledo and - for five days - in Ciudad Real.'-

More than almost anywhere else in Spain, the persecution of the Jews was almost entirely the work of the clergy (406 ff.J. And the zealous Dominican Vicente Ferreq, one of the leading churchmen of the early i 5th century, played a considerable part in this.

The anti-Semite, who died on a preaching tour through Brittany and had already been canonized in q y8, not only influenced the anti-Jewish legislation of King Ferdinando of Aragon, but also the Ordena- miento de Doña Catalina of the regent Xatharina, whose advisor and inspirer the saint was not only for this extremely harsh decree, especially in its original version. Significantly, it was weakened as soon a s Ferrer left Catalonia, who, incidentally, was probably also involved in the

-Tractatus novus et valde compendiosus contra Perfidiam judaeo-rum".

In addition, the saint was directly involved in the local implementation of this ErÍasse. He loved propaganda hype,

was already on the road as a preacher from i 3gg to• 4 g through haÍb Europe, at times accompanied by hugeø crowds, men and women,

accompanied by tormenting vultures. And later, leading a mob of fanatical flagellants, he marched again through Castile, through Ara- gón, proclaiming the -Holy War-, the -Holy Hate'-, "Death or Baptism", creating a lot of refugees, exiles, and countless suicides of desperate people.

A GREAT JUDENM ÓRD ER WI LL BE H EI LI GHT

Like Vincent Ferrer, John of Capestrano, a nobleman from Abruzzo, became a celebrated public speaker a few decades later, an organizer of mass events who was "almost without precedent in history". It is clear from the fact that the people - who gathered twenty to thirty thousand people a day - shed streams of tears during his speeches, "although they did not understand his language, as he preached in Latin" (Wetzer/Wel- te). 5o He converted thousands, among them ailein i i ooo Hussites - to whom the Pope and Emperor Frederick III referred him. He also acted as an oracle

of his time-, as a "miracle man-; healed hundreds, walked -on his coat dry-shod over the Po-, brought back to life a dead man in Rieti -whose head had been split in two-

{Donn)"

Yet de Capestrano, this mighty Franciscan tongues and miracle perpetrator - actually wonderful again - was a rather puny little man, small, inconspicuous, in old age even just skin and bones. After all, after he, the former governor of Perugia, had been imprisoned there, he had begun his spiritual career remarkably successfully as an inquisitor, but by fighting against the fraticelles - he prepared their complete downfall" {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

Both Eugene IV and Nicholas V had already appointed Capestrano as inquisitor general when they ascended the throne, and the consequences were not only felt by the fraticelles. For while the propagandist was mainly active in Italy for decades, there were otherwise "hardly known outrages against the Jews" - the only reference to this in the Catholic Handbook of Church History. Even the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (Dictionary of Theology and the Church) only once "his constant insistence with popes, princes and cities on the complete implementation of the Jewish laws" - in the first edition iq33, when the -Stürmer - and other Nazi racists referred to Capesirano, the -judenhammer - of the late Middle Ages, with full justification of course. {The third edition of the ecclesiastical lexicon of i qqö, however, does not mention anything in the Capestrano article about his relationship to the Jews).

In later years, the saint - for the Saxon Milo
riten Matthias Döring was just a vain boaster and deceiver - through Austria, Bavaria, Thuringia, Saxony, Silesia, Hungary, Poland and -clean- countries. For "persecutions of the Jews", Schoenen laments in his history of Judaism, "characterized his path, incarcerations, confiscations of property, expulsions, executions by fiery death, the taking away of children under the age of seven for forcible education in Christianity".*'

It is the famous - almost
4 years of restless apostolic activity", this, according to

also by Pastor, -great reform activity". From Sicily to Poland, the diatribes of the -pious father-, as the Magdeburg Schöppenchronik repeatedly calls him, resulted in anti-Semitic demonstrations, acts of violence and butchery. Sometimes, as
i4 yo in pious Bavaria, the "Hebrews" were imprisoned or expelled even before his arrival. In Breslau, the "worthy, the
"distinguished --, -this pious father Johannes"•4s i for an alleged desecration of the hosts 4• Jews were burned alive in front of their houses on the Salzring, all the other Jews were condemned.
often, robbed, their children under the age of seven taken away from them to make them orthodox. similar atrocities happened in the same year in Liegnitz and in Schweidnitz, where in the early•4 year
hundred already the Bishop of Wroclaw fifty "heretics" at once into the fire (VIIk7 7l-"

But you can see the immense blood trail of the Franciscan

•M. Pinay and his spiritual authors at the time of the Second Vatican Council praised St. Thomas Aquinas in their brazenly wooden work "Conspiracy against the Church", which every Council participant received, because he recognized the need to "put the Jewish beast in chains" and taught: - The Jews may not keep what they have appropriated through usury and are obliged to bring up again those who have destroyed them ... The Jews live in eternal servitude because of their guilt. The masters can therefore take everything from them and leave them only the necessities of life, unless it is forbidden by the holy laws of the Church.

Yes, Pinay and colleagues see Johann von Capestrano's thomistic postulates into practice in the best possible way. For, they triumph: -This pious Franciscan fought the Beast with his sermons and also with the sword which he thrust into the dragon's throat until he had defeated him ... The desolation he caused in the 'synagogue of Satan' is regarded by various Jews as the worst. However, the Holy Church has already passed its final judgment on this fighter and canonized him. St. J- n de Capistrano, who founded the church

He, who saved the Church and Europe in the 5th century, deserves to be regarded as a patron saint by the patriotic organizations that are currently fighting Judaism. In heaven, he, who won a similar battle, will be the most precious intercessor with God and will intercede for those who follow in his holy footsteps and fight in the present to defend the Church and its nations against the Jewish imperialism of the 'synagogue of Satan'.

The radicalism is hard to beat, as Johann von Capistrano, with unquestionably holy zeal, recommends the Final Solution, complete annihilation, extermination, as the best solution to the conflict with the Jews: -We must finally come clean. All Jews should be loaded onto ships as enemies of the faith and drowned on the open sea. -

His tomb has been destroyed and his relics are lost.
were swollen. But he was beatified and canonized.

As in the West, Christians also attacked each other in the East. At first, however, they had f o u g h t against pagans there, they had -christianized-, the Teutonic Order, for example, the Prussians since zz3 i, and it became one of the bloodiest "missions" of the Middle Ages (DVII Z83 ff. r 86 ff.!).

T H E " P REU£ SEN R EIS E" - **T** H **E** G **E N E R A L** O R D S B **E T W E** E N T O T HE " S ISON "

The historian Heinrich von Treitschke, who was close to Bismarck in his journalistic work, attributes to the Teutonic Order a "threefold pride", that of "the Christian, the knight, the German" - and for more than two hundred years, the Teutonic Order engaged in the murder and enslavement of the East. For more than two hundred years, it waged campaigns of extermination, insidiously slaughtered the founders of the empire, systematically stole children, abducted

Women. Countless villages and towns are plundered and burned to the ground. In the middle of the 13th century, the pope sends convicted gangsters to reinforce the Teutonic Knights, and on i6. On September iz56, a bull issued by Alexander fVi {who sought to continue his predecessor's policy "with the greatest possible leniency": Kühner) granted impunity to every lawbreaker in the service of the Order.

The hunt for "enemies" takes on an almost sporting character, the "Lithuanian journey - or -Preufienreise-, as it is called, takes on a seasonal character. There is a winter trip and a summer trip. Twice a year, the highly respected Order of the Teutonic Knights organizes them, and the interest of the "war guests" continues for over a century, with the highlights lying between the i33os and i3qos, the heyday of the Teutonic Order in Preuften. Many Frenchmen also savored the murderous charms of the voyage de Prusse, as did many Englishmen, Spaniards, Scots, Italians, indeed the entire nobility of Europe, including dukes and kings. And a historian of the Teutonic Order, who in the i 5th century paints the i4 . as Prussia's golden age, would really like to give us
make believe that the influx of "guests" is due to the -wisdom-
of the Knights of the Order, because of the - flowering of wisdom- . All travelers at that time, wherever they came from, said that in no other country had they seen so many well-bred people in terms of age and wisdom as in the Order of Prussia. That is why many lords, knights and squires from Christendom wished to get to know the Order, and they came to Prussia with entourages and stayed in Königsberg at great expense, some of them waiting a whole year to go to war against the enemy.

For quite a few families, the tour de force, the hunt in the East, was a tradition, for everyone - an attraction - (Paravicini), including: Ablafi and regulated payment transactions. If money was lacking - knights and merchants of Preufia were available; the Order was one of the richest lenders in Europe. The main thing, of course, was war, as the aim was to ravage as much as possible with the hosts, conquering, razing and building castles.

Beyond the "season", the knights kept their arsonist

Gangs terrorized the country and its people. Canon Nicolaus Copernicus wrote to Sigismund 1 of Poland: -I hope that Your Majesty has already been informed by other sources as to whose instigation this excess has increased. For it is generally known where these robbers are hatched, where they arm themselves against us and where they flee with their prey. We can see that the Grand Master will soon threaten us with danger and superiority ... -
°

The violence, the greed and lust for power of the order does not even respect the clergy. The cruelty knows no bounds. A bishop is forged to the wall in a vault in the church of Tapiau near Königsberg, two knights are forced to watch him die of hunger - (Heer). Archbishop Frederick of Riga claims that there are no greater enemies of the Roman Church and the country than the Friars Minor. He reports *30 accusations to Avignon and reports the slaughter of ten thousand people in Danzig **nm 1308,** - the extermination of Christians ..."

So was the order interested in Christianity, in conversion? It was concerned with subjugation and exploitation, like those Saxon grandees of whom Helmold wrote centuries earlier (VII röq ff!) that they were -always more inclined to increase interest charges than to win souls for the Lord", they -divided the money among themselves. There was no mention of Christianity ...-

Therefore, when almost everything in the Order of Prussia was already Christianized, the feuds, battles and wars continued unabated. It did not help the Order, which reached its greatest extent around 4oo, to insist on the necessity of pagan wars and crusades, to present the Christianization of Lithuania as a deception and to claim that Grand Prince Wirold had already changed his faith on several occasions - and in the process had repeatedly "committed godless and heinous crimes against churches and sanctuaries". It helped the

3 7 It is nothing to the Order that it complains to the Diet of Frankfort about powerful challenges, for every day the infidels, Lithuanians and Russians, are strengthened more and more by the King of Poland ... Day after day the heathens are supplied from Poland with

Weapons, armor, plates, armor, rifles, horses, workmen, gunners and the like, so that the fight against the enemies of Christ becomes more and more difficult.

War was waged with Lithuania - - -4OI bİS °4 4. But for the Roman king, as for the Pope, Lithuania was Christian. And Poland, allied with Lithuania, had long been. Thus, in a bull of the year•4 3, the pontiff regulated the order's rites, as he had

• The king's people and the newly dewed in Lithuania were put to death "not without bitter pain", and he forbade the use of Xrieg against Poland and Lithuania under threat of banishment.

TAN NEN BERC OR D ERNFANG VO M ExD E

At the same time, relations between these countries and the Order's state intensified. As usual, there are border disputes, tefritorial conflicts, the Neumark, Schemaiten and the Dobriner Land. The raids in the Neumark became more frequent, a general uprising in Schemaiten i ąoq was added, and the Polish-Lithuanian alliance was obviously behind it.

On August 6, i doq, Order High Master Ulrich von Jun- ging officially declares war on the Polish King Jagiello, the Order's armies retreat devastatingly across the borders, Dobrin Castle goes up in flames, Bebern Castle, the castles Zempelburg and Kammin of the Archbishop of Gnesen burn. Bydgoszcz is also incinerated. And on the other side, Grand Duke Witold of Lithuania pillaged the country, seizing and confiscating castles of his own,[4']

In between, an arbitration award by King Wenceslas fails. The opponents arm themselves feverishly and demand reinforcements. The Grand Master orders the Master of Livtand to provide immediate support. The bishops of Livonia, Reval, Courland and Ösel are also ordered to s e n d troops to Preufia, and many mercenaries come from Germany. And on

July 15 -4 -The hostile Christians clash between Tannenberg

and Grunwald/Grünfelde clashed. (hence the Polish historiography speaks of "Grunwald"): on the one side, the presumably almost i y ooo strong Orderist force under Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen and the allied Dukes of Pomerania; on the other, the Polish-Lithuanian army with an estimated zo ooo warriors under King Wladislaw II Jagiello of Poland and his cousin Grofi- fütst Witold of Lithuania. Jagiello of Poland and his cousin Grand Duke Witold of Lithuania, between whom things had not always been so harmonious.

Jagiello, who became Grand Prince of Lithuania in 377, had initially ruled jointly with his uncle, the Grand Prince Kynstute (Kejstut), until he drove him away and Kynstute died a mysterious death in mid-August r 38z, perhaps murdered by his nephew, which is disputed. In any case, Jagiello w a s baptized in Krakow on i February 5, i 38ö, took the name Wladyslaw and married Hedwig, Louis' daughter, on x8. February he married Hedwig, the daughter of Louis the Great of Hungary and Poland, and received the Polish crown on March q. March he also received the Polish crown. He allowed his cousin Witold, Kynstute's son, who had twice fled to Prussia, to rule Lithuania from i39a, where he himself - 3 7 with the founding of the Bi- and the establishment of the first seven parish churches, the Christianity had been introduced.

Nim, in the summer of -4 - , King Jagiello of Poland fought one of the largest military battles of the Middle Ages at Tannenberg, and his army

At the beginning of the mass, the shamans sang the old Polish Marian song "-Boga Rodzicza" - but it did not seem very helpful at first. The Knights of the Order, on the other hand, bound t o the same heavenly spirits, especially since, according to their votum castitatis, - their heavenly lady Mary " (which, as you can read in my sexual history, did not prevent them from screwing everything from wives to nine-year-old girls to, not without reason, female animals), the citate knights initially had success on their side. They threw back the Lithuanian contingent, Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen broke through the Polish line of battle three times, the Order's troops were already singing the victory chorale - "Christ is risen", when it became apparent that Christ, at least this time, was on the other side, where the Polish king was throwing his troops

into battle, while the

Ulrich von Jungingen dies, and all but one of the Grand Commanderies perish, along with eleven commanders and most of the Order's riders, two hundred and five. A total of four to five thousand corpses lie in the forest, and dozens of conquered monks soon stand in Krakow Cathedral,4.

Virtually the entire country immediately submits. Almost all the castles, towns and even the four bishops of the Order's state with their dioceses (since i a¢3) of Kulm, Pomesania, Warmia and Samland pay homage to the Polish king, who now encircles the Order's headquarters, the -Queen of the National Castles", Marienburg Castle. Count Heinrich von Plauen, the (later) successor to the fallen Grand Master, holds it with part of the defeated army until the departure of the Pole, whose warriors and horses are decimated by an epidemic, and who is also threatened by a shortage of food and fodder and an approaching relief force all around. So he marched home, devastated fields behind him, destroyed crops, razed towns, including the town of Marienburg, which had already been razed to the ground by Henry of Plauen himself, so to speak as a precaution.

And as disgracefully as it had betrayed the Order, the country now turned back to it. He also gets off lightly•4 * in the First Peace of Thorn, especially in territorial terms, he reads out
but only some peripheral areas and that, of course, from time to time disputed schemaites with the last pagans of Europe, where Jagiello and Witold•4• 7 introduce Christianity together. However, the contributions were enormous and the huge sum of z6o ooo Hungarian florins had to be paid for the release of prisoners and the clearing of castles.
Although this explains the Order's constant financial difficulties in the future, it does not decisively explain its decline, which is now beginning.*-

Even more than before, the Teutonic Order, most of whose knights came from the empire, is now perceived as a foreign ruler, a tyrant who fleeces everything, the nobility, the cities, the estates, the peasants, a power-obsessed clique that no longer h a s a "missionary task", is institutionally run down and can only afford to be a "missionary".

wants to enrich himself personally. It is probably not only a tax levied to accompany the high reparations that drives part of the country into resistance, with Danzig - where an ever-smaller group of merchants is becoming increasingly wealthy, not least through usury and credit speculation - taking the lead, especially as the city is already in trade competition with the Order. The Grand Master has the two mayors of Gdansk executed.

Despite the First Peace of Toruń, there were repeated executions, raids and acts of war, including

-4- z the Peace of Melnosee (Kulm Land), between the Prussian monarchy and King Wladislaw Jagiello, the Grand Duke Witold and the Dukes Johann and Semowit

of Masovia, on the other hand, only concludes, but does not permanently end.[4] '

In the meantime, an internal dispute had broken out between the Grand Master Heinrich von Plauen and the Supreme Marshal Michael Küchmeister. The latter had Plauen, who was planning an attack on Poland, captured and deposed in Marienburg in the fall of - 4- i and elected himself as the new Grand Master, while the atte, the savior of the state of the Order after the defeat of Tannenberg, remained imprisoned for alleged conspiracy with Poland until Küchmeister's death and almost until the end of his own life.

Conflicts increased within the Order, the loss of authority and lust for power grew, and disputes between the Grand Master and the commanders or the Landmeister in Livonia and the German Master in the Empire became more frequent, with forged statutes also being used.

Even more dangerous, however, were the disputes with the representatives of the landed gentry and the larger cities, who had long been demanding participation, especially in domestic politics, in the administration of justice, and a restriction of the unlimited jurisdiction of the authorities, the Order of Knights and the bishops. fe. Thus, a *4 > -z r44o in Marienwerder, 3 Prussian nobles and rg towns form an "alliance against violence", the

-The "Prussian Confederation", which Poland supported but the religious state rejected, especially the Bishop of Warmia, who tirelessly sought to disadvantage the estates. For, he argued with St. Augustine, a prelate who did not bile the vices of his subjects was more like a shameless dog than a bishop. For their part, the estates declared that they would take matters into their own hands if necessary, even if it cost them "a few necks".

That's what it cost. Because when the Preufiischer Bund

When the Pope declares the state of the Order dissolved at its request and the Emperor in December i¢yy, the Bündische renounce obedience to the Order, submit to Poland, to whom they offer sovereignty over Prussia, and a thirteen-year war begins. Not only do thousands and thousands of villages fall victim t o it, but also zoxq churches - and Prussia becomes ziir desert.*-

But the Holy Fathers soon live more and more happily.

8, CHAPTER

THE RENAISSANCE PAPACY BEGINS

Nixo out V., KAcixT I I-s Ius II, Proc II, SIXTUS IV, IxxozExz VIII.

• Temples, priests, altars, ... heaven is for sale and so is God.
The carnelite Battista Spagnoli of Mantua'

-The most important activity of the **Pope**, who reigned for only three years, **was** dedicated to the crusade. With an energy that was astonishing for his age, he tirelessly gave his whole mind and heart to this task." Handbook of Church History on Calixtus III'.

-There is nothing that can be obtained from the Roman Curia without money. Even the ordination of priests and the gifts of the Holy Spirit are sold. The forgiveness of sins is granted for money.
Enea Silvio de Piccolomini/Pope Pius II'.

-Barbo, the later Pope Paul II (¥4*4-*47^T. liked it when naked men were tortured and martyred. He was gay and wore a papal tiara,
which, according to witnesses, exceeded the value of the palace, he plundered the papal treasury to satisfy his craving for ostentation and splendor ... Paul II allegedly died of a heart attack while having anal intercourse with one of his favorite pleasure boys."
Nigel Cawthnrne-

"Without hesitation, he concealed his dynastic plans under the pretext of papal authority and religion.
thus played a leading role in the chain of wars, murders and conspiracies that plagued Italy during his pontificate ...
Macchiavelli paid the highest tribute to his unscrupulousness.
Hans Kühner on Sixtus IV'.

-His unusual beauty gained him access to the family of Cardinal Philip of Bologna in Rome to serve his pleasure. After the death of his Btschützers, he became the favorite of Paul 11 and Sintus IV, who appointed him cardinal ... Unlike most popes, Innoceriz openly acknowledged his illegitimate children. He baptized them, performed their weddings and found appropriate christenings for them. His term of office was known as the 'Golden Age of Bastards' - Nigel Cawthorne-

The word Renaissance is derived from the Latin renasci, to revive, to be born again, and covers the period from around the beginning of the i yth century to the middle of the i6th century. century. As a generally characterizing cultural term, it only came into use later (especially through J. Michelet and J. Burckhardt, the most important Renaissance interpreters of the iqth century). century), it was nevertheless familiar to the people of the Renaissance. However, the majority of Italy's nine to ten million inhabitants at the time, mostly **peasants**, lived in **"**extreme **poverty"** and were not affected by the new era.
"probably completely untouched" (Burke; cf. chapter 3!).

Whether the Renaissance was really something unique, an epoch with its own identity-forming characteristics and thus sharply distinguishable from the Middle Ages, or whether the main contours of the latter, essential moments of continuity, were by and large preserved, in short, whether the term Renaissance should be absolutized or whether it should be relativized, as the medievalists did in the second century. In short, whether the concept of the Renaissance should be absolutized or whether it should be relativized, as the medievalists did in the second century.

On the one hand, there is probably no sudden radical epochal break, some structures and models of the preceding period continue to have an effect. On the other hand, it is impossible to compare earlier "renaissances" - the Caulian and Ottonian cultures - with the new attitude to life without overstretching them. The latter's resolute regression to antiquity is associated with an accentuated world and human orientation, a much more powerful personal emotionality, the ethos of personal efficiency, a stronger self-awareness and thus a decisive turn against progress.

the effect of medieval scholastic traditions. The indoctrination of the clergy is replaced by a bourgeois educational offensive, Humanism, secular intelligence and aesthetics.

The educated layman plays a much greater role in Italy than in all the other countries of the fundum; Renaissance art there sets the tone for Europe. In F)orentine and Roman art in particular, the focus was on nature and the precepts of antiquity - "the greatest memory of Italy" (J. Burckhardt) -, to the "true art", the -'good- style, especially in architecture and sculpture, and strives for the "buona maniera", which is oriented towards closeness to reality, the truth of nature and the ancient norms of -classical- ideality, while at the same time rejecting the Gothic, the -maniera tedesca-. It was not until the is. It was not until the eighteenth century that the term Renaissance was extended to all areas of political and social life.*

The era of the Renaissance papacy is described by jehep above all of Christians, much praised and condemned.

One is full of praise for the patronage of most hierarchs, their protection of architecture and painting in particular. However, this merit, which has been praised thousands and thousands of times, contrasts sharply with the foundations of Christianity. For *this has* nothing at all to do with its oldest message, the preaching of the biblical Jesus, which the Holy Fathers supposedly *ven'eteo* and spread. Or where would this Jesus ever have called out? Let artists be about me! Let popes build expensive palaces, beautiful cathedrals! Do philology, create libraries, write poetry and compose church music! (Mtisik, in passing, still plays at the center of Renaissance art within x4 , centuries, within sub-
difference to Paris, played no role at all. John XXII was still fighting the
-Ars nova" and threatened - 3>4J*3 >Ş İfl the bull - Docta sancto-
rum - the performance of new music in the church with church penalties}.

The biblical Jesus, whose kingdom - was "not of this world", for whom its end was imminent and therefore
-only one- had no sense of spiritual life at all,
Science and art, which has a long-lasting effect. Even in early

In the 3rd century, church father Clement of Alexandria asked how a work of master builders, stonemasons or craftsmen **could** possibly be sacred. And Tertullian declared artists to be sons of the devil without further ado.

The Renaissance **popes** are often criticized in terms of morality. However, quite a few people, including myself, may still prefer a pontiff screwing around in the Vatican or elsewhere a hundred times more than a rigorous ascetic who sends thousands of innocent people to the stake, to wars and torture camps. And a pope who makes no secret of his fornication is still more likeable than a whoremonger who plays the innocent angel in public.

NmorAusV.(I447 I4Ss)

^ THE L I B ERA LSTE AL LER PäP STE °

If the early Renaissance, in Italy the period of the by. The first pope of the era was Nicholas V, the former physician's son Tommaso Parentucelli from Sariana near La Spezia.

The penniless tutor had become acquainted with the rich Florentines, the Albizzi, the Strozzi, with the leading leeches and sons of the Muses of the city on the Arno, the center of the advancing Renaissance. And the brilliant jubilee year i q 5o not only brought the plague (during which the **pope** locked himself up **in** Fabriano and forbade approaching his refuge on pain of death), it also brought many a misfortune (such as that of the two hundred people who were represented on the Bridge of Angels or hurled into the Tiber). It also brought an ant-like rush of people, full coffers and the opportunity to rebuild the papal city, which had almost become a village during the Avignonese era, in a splendid way.

Nicholas led the Renaissance spirit in the middle of the Quatrrocento

into his court. He supported humanists and artists, including the free-spirited Lorenzo Valla, author of exemplary and ex- plosive publications against scholasticism, monasticism, the ruling law and the profane papal regimen.

Valla had tried in vain to enter the curial service under Martin V and Eugene IV. Then, as secretary to King Alfonso V of Naples, he provided proof of the forgery of the Donation of Constantine in his work -De falso credita et emen- tita Constantini donatione Declamatio- (1+. - 4 chap.,!). The protagonist of philological textual criticism made this -already severely tarnished-

Now, with a single blow, he "put an end to the matter" and denounced the counterfeiter as a "dumb as a post, a bovine animal, a donkey", as an unlucky fellow who had the good will to cheat, but not the talent.

Ulrich von Hutren edited the work• 5*7 'n Basel. Valla, however, accused of "heresy" by the Franciscans, mufite from Naples

fleeing, iqyo became professor of rhetoric in Rome and i4y 5, under Calixt III - papal secretary.

Nicholas V also provided inspiration for the visual arts and architecture. Fra Angelico worked for him, as did Benozzo Gozzoli, Angelico's assistant, Bernardo Rossellino and especially Leon Battista Alberti, the embodiment of the "-uomo universale", the architect and great scholar, author of the first Italian grammar, among other things, who held the lucrative post of papal advisor for thirty years until he lost it under the humanist Pope Pius II of all people.

As a passionate bibliophile, Nicholas had Greek classics, mostly of course church fathers and titles of theological character, translated into Latin and collected well over a thousand manuscripts through his "manuscript journals", making him the new founder of the Vatican Library.

The slender, outwardly unprepossessing pope, austere, it is said, and without nepotistic inclinations, built, as he still praises in his sermon, "magnificent fortresses" in the ecclesiastical state, strengthening Castel Sant'Angelo and the walls of Rome, whose communal self-sufficiency he greatly curtailed. Admittedly, he campaigned,

especially in Italy,

for peace, above all because he sought to lead Christianity into a new crusade.

To the German king, the Habsburg Frederick III { Udo-
x¢q3), who sponsored churches and monasteries,•4i 6 also {s. *Kayser Fridrichs moerfart-) traveled to the Holy Land and in Jerusalem to the
Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, he maintained good relations.

i q4 8 he concluded the Vienna Concordat with him, with which the empire finally turned from the Council of Basel to the Roman Curia.
The Pope, the real profiteer of the treaty, which remained in force until 1801/1ÜO6, was again given increased influence over the German Church, over annates, appointments and many lucrative posts, whereupon a disgusting hunt for benefices promptly began. And for this, the Habsburg was, most importantly, consecrated on IQ. March -4sz in St. Peter's - the imperial coronation that took place in Rome.

Nicholas V did nothing to reform the church. The Concordat of Vienna also contained no provisions to this effect, even though the longer the abuses went o n , the more they cried out to heaven.'° On the other hand, he was successful in crushing a rebellion led by Stelario Porcaro, a humanistically educated man from the lower nobility of Rome, who, inflamed by republican ideals, wanted, as he said, to "free the people from the clerical yoke" forever, set fire to the Vatican and become a tribune himself. Nicholas V exiled him to Bologna, where he was appreciated by many for his charm and talents, but had him captured by means of torture and a bounty and executed together with his brother-in-law, son Clemente and other "journeymen of murder" (von Pastor) on the
q. January xy y3, three hours before day, hanging in Castel Sant'Angelo. Other victims followed. In his Roman annals, Infessura, scribe of the Senate and eyewitness, calls Porcaro a "man of honor", the "friend of the welfare and freedom of Rome; banished from the city without cause, he wanted to stake his own life on the liberation of his fatherland from bondage, as he proved by his deed".

Ferdinand Gregorovius, who described Nicholas V as the most liberal of all

He must admit that he no longer has the magistrates on the Capitol elected by the commune, but appoints them himself, that he transforms the city into a papal fortress, that the cardinals under him act lavishly like secular princes, that the curials, and countless sponges of prelates in general, offer Rome a hideous spectacle of arrogance, greed and depravity. Perhaps this can also be called liberal. And is it any wonder that the humanists, even Valla, who live off the Pope's money, are damning Porcaro, who was once close to them, while they see the "most liberal patron" in the Holy Father, who strings up the rebels one after the other?

Only a few months after the executions, on September 3o *453. Nicholas V - who is still praised today for his kindness, tolerance and peace-loving nature, whom his biographer Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine bookseller, described as - light and the jewel of the world.

He called for a crusade against the diabolical madness of the Turks, calling him "the most peaceful of the popes".

However, all the efforts of the imperial secretary Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later to become Pius II, at the three Turkish Empire Days in Regensburg, Frankfurt/Main and Wiener Neustadt i 544 /r y5, were in vain. The pope's allies, especially the Italian

The French cities, some of which had already concluded special treaties with the Sultan, were more concerned with their trade relations with the accursed enemy. The French king Charles VII (p. *40), who had left a crusade project submitted earlier completely unanswered, was not able to realize it.

The Portuguese king Alfonso V, known as "Affonso o Africano". The Portuguese King Alfonso V, called "Affonso o Africano", had already sacrificed crusade tithes to his own interests before the crusade. In short, the good Christians breathed a sigh of relief when they heard of the death of this peaceful Holy Father in Wiener Neustadt in the spring of ii y.'-

His successor, however, pursued crusade propaganda with even greater zeal.

Calixtus III. (1455–1458) –

TURK CRIEK AND NEPOTI S ht U S

He is the second pope of this name and should not be confused with the counter-pope of the same name with the same ordinal number, Calixtus lil, from the i th century {Vl §33). The new pontiff Alonso de Borja (Italianized Alfonso Borgia), the sprofi of a small landowner, was a Spaniard, jurist and a trusted advisor to A)fonso V of Aragon (as King of Naples: Alfonso I). Deu Borgia had once made the antipope Benedict XIII, Pedro de Luna (p *7- .), a canonist.*4*s he was appointed bishop of the rich
Bishopric of Valencia,1444 by Eugene IV, Cardinal, whereupon he was appointed twelve
is said to have lived in seclusion for years.

Calixt III sought neutrality towards the various factions Rome and demanded the peace created by the Peace of Lodi (i¢5).4 The so-called equilibrium in Italy, indeed he sought peace far and wide in Europe. However, like so many other popes, he did not do this f o r the sake of peace, but wanted to achieve it in the
He won back Konsmntinopeí {p. a33), which had been conquered by the Turks on May•45 i . He pursued this goal, almost the main task of his three-year reign, with untiring energy from the beginning of his pontificate, although he was very old, gout-ridden and very frail, but enjoyed the reputation of a peaceful marine. In fact
He was a strict believer, stubborn, had grown up as a Spaniard in the delusion of faith, in his hatred of Islam, and so soon after his surprising election (at the age of 77 he unmistakably
bar a transitional pope) õffendich and solemn, the Holy
war, not only material goodnessq if necessary also
to sacrifice his life.

Here is his vow, spread throughout Europe: I, Pope Calixtus III, promise and vow to the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the ever-virginal Mother of God, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul and all the heavenly hosts, that, if necessary, even at the sacrifice of my own blood, I will do my utmost, to the best of my ability, supported by the counsel of my venerable brethren, Constantine and the Holy Spirit, to save the world from the evil of the Holy Spirit.

tinople, which was conquered and destroyed by the enemy of the crucified Savior, the son of the devil, Mohammed, the prince of the Turks, as a punishment for the forsaken human race, and also to free the Christians languishing in slavery, to raise the true faith and to eradicate the diabolical sect of the rejected and disloyal Mohammed in the Orient. For there the light of faith is almost completely extinguished. If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand fall into oblivion; may my tongue be paralyzed in my mouth if I do not remember you, Jerusalem, and do not let you be the beginning of my joy. So help me God and his holy gospel. Amen."

The glorifier of the popes, Baron von Pastor, also described Borgia's ardent hatred of the mortal enemy of the Christian name from a young age. And according to Gabriel of Verona, Joan of Capestrano's closest confidant, the pope thought only of the crusade and spoke of nothing else. -The later cardinal reported that "he dealt with the rest of his business in *one* word*, but* the crusade he dealt with and discussed constantly".

Calixt wrote bulls, hunted his servant spirits in all directions, nuncios and a bunch of Bertel monks, *probably* all for war propaganda, the preaching of the cross, prepared with indulgences, keen on taxes and crusade tithes. - One of his most prominent agents wasJ hann von Capestrano, the Ju-
(this Holy Father also renewed the anti-Jewish
legislation). Calixtus donated his own wealth, sold his mitre and his tableware, plundered the papal treasury of zooooo ducats and gave away church treasures. He sold gold and silver work and precious book bindings. He probably also seized the Vatican library and certainly the gold from coffins.'*

The Pope, interested in the world of the Renaissance, in science and art and, in contrast to his predecessor, culturally disinterested in general, also disregarded the reconstruction of Rome begun by Nicholas V as wasteful and did not continue it. Instead, he used money that he had always hoarded to

a war fleet on the Tiber and placed it under the command of Cardinal Lodo- vico Scarampo.

Having reached the highest offices of the Curia through Eugene IV and Nicholas V, Scarampo was, so to speak, a pupil of Vitelleschi {p. ara ff.), thus like the latter a man of war, also otherwise a worldly-minded type (hence "Cardinal Lucullus -) and immensely rich. His successor in Rome after Vitelleschi's death, he supervised the rearmament of the papal squadron xq Sfr ¢ y6 and in the following year, as legate and captain-general at Metelino in the Aegean, supported by a fleet of King Alfonso I of Naples, won a not too significant victory in which he captured almost z5 ships. According to Seppelt, the cardinal with an admiral's function also engaged in piracy, a gradual difference only to official state or papal piracy.

However, the Roman crusading efforts were hardly rewarded and the sporadic victories were not expanded into more fruitful campaigns. The great powers showed no interest in this. Rather, both France and Germany were annoyed by the interference, the Pope's crusade hysteria and his desire to collect taxes. Even such a proven ally as King Alfonso of Aragon and Naples pursued his own territorial plans; indeed, he invested the Turkish tithes in the expansion of his naval power and then redirected the crusade fleet to attack Ge- nua instead of the Bosporus."

But if the papal passion for the Turkish war remained richly unsatisfied, the love for the Nepotes was all the more s a t i s f i e d . After all, Calixtus almost exclusively promoted relatives of closer and more distant degrees, in addition to his Spanish compatriots in general, which is why they soon occupied more and more positions of power in the Curia and the Papal States and terrorized the Italians.

Two nephews, just twenty years old, were elevated to cardinals by the pontiff on February zo. February 4s6 as cardinals. One, Luis Juan del Mila, an incompetent man, became legate of Bologna, the other, Rodrigo Borgia, the
later Alexander VI, advanced to field commander of the papal troops in Italy and vice-chancellor of the Curia; at-

de received benefices over benefices, bishoprics and abbeys. Rodrigo was probably the illegitimate son of his uncle, Pope Calixtus, and his sister Joanna. Pedro Luis, Rodrigo's brother, another nephew, received the highest secular honors. He became captain general of the church, governor of Castel Sant'Angelo, lord of numerous other castles and cities, in which he placed his Catalan warriors, became city prefect of Rome and even lord of Spoleto. But that was not all. When King Alfonso L of Naples, the

Calixt owed his rise and much more,•45 the pope planned not to appoint the natural son of the ruler, Ferrante, whom both Pope Eugene and Pope Nicholas legiti-

The king's successor was to be one of his own nephews. Indeed, Calixtus claimed that Ferrante, the king's only heir, was not even his illegitimate sprofi, but had not been procreated.

But the Holy Father's noble intention was abruptly shattered. He died in the summer, on S. August i4 y8, when the banner of the Semi-Moride was already flying over Athens and Corinth and the subjugation of Serbia had begun. And immediately there was an uprising in Rome and in the Church.

state against the restrained Catalans. The Bor- gia palaces were robbed, and the governor of Castel Sant'Angelo, Pedro Luis, sold them to the cardinals for zoooo ducats, narrowly escaped, but succumbed to a fatal illness at the end of the year.'*.

PIUS II- (454 4)

A U N O RNO GRAP H W I T H MA PST

Enea Silvio de Piccolomini, as Calixt's successor was called before his election, became better known as a humanist than as a hierarch, although the high office certainly benefited his reputation as an author, even the **pope** would allegedly have been very concerned not to have written some of the things he wrote as a Late.

That Piccolomini, a type as pixoresLer as it is extremely rare

Among popes, he was as witty as he was knowledgeable, and remarkably versatile, is undisputed. But perhaps Il lustre was too lacking in direction, too unambiguous, too passionate, he was more brilliant than substantial, too much of a rhetorician to be meaningful or even a poet in the high sense.'°

Nor did Piceolomini excel as a church leader; absurd to call him one of the greatest popes - in what way! In the light of his -Commentarii - perhaps, his self-indulgent memoirs, the only autobiography of a Roman overlord.

Piccolomini, from impoverished Sienese nobility {which led him to falsify family history), grew up in Corsignano, a village which, renamed Pienza, he elevated to a town, a bishop's seat and adorned with magnificent buildings.

After studying in Siena and Florence, he led an itinerant life for decades as secretary to many gentlemen, a kind of diplomatic career, especially in Germany, where circumstances determined his preferences and he changed sides more out of career calculation than conviction.

Initially in the service of Cardinal Capranica, among others, he also joined the increasingly anti-Roman ecclesiastical assembly in Basel (p. zz¢f.) when the latter id3 z fled from Eugene IV. In fierce attacks, he defended the authority of the council against the pope, even becoming secretary to Felix V, the antipope (p. vz y). But when Felix*‹4* *-sends him to the Imperial Diet in Frankfurt, where Frederick IH. crowns him poeta laureatus, court poet, and entices him to take the under-
He becomes a member of the Imperial Chancellery, a close friend also of Kaspar Schlick, the first lay chancellor of a Roman-German potentate, becomes447 Bishop of Trieste, °4§O Bi-
of Siena, then by Calixtus, for a long time, *45
Cardinal, finally, and especially by his own doing, Pope again two years later'.

There was a similarly abrupt break in Piccolomini's life.
change.

Like St. Augustine, Enea in puricto puncti was initially very light-hearted, but unlike him, he wrote it frivolously

renowned, widely read author of erotic literature, almost "specialized in pornographic subjects" (Cawthorne).

Potency obviously ran in the family. 5Father Sylvius -
-You know what a cock you were-, the son reminded him - made ten children for his wife Victoria Forteguerra. And Enea also had at least a few children, illegitimate ones at that. He had a son by a Scottish girl, and "the Lord" gave him another son through a Breton woman in Strasbourg, mother of a five-year-old daughter. The future Pope gave birth to at least two more very natural children, occasionally there was even talk of a dozen.

And he was proud of it, confessed that he was neither "eunuCh nor of cool blood", nor "a hypocrite", indeed he knew, almost forty, nothing more glorious for man than to beget his own image, to reproduce his own kind, as it were, and to leave someone behind after his death ... As *for* me, I am delighted that my seed has borne fruit and that a part of me will survive when I die.'-.

But then, when Piccolomini resolutely headed for the red hat and even became pope, he no longer wanted to know anything about his theologically and morally rebellious past.

He encountered his first self-condemnations as a bishop. He was no longer an extreme conciliarist who zealously defended the anti-Roman line of the Baslers, but a staunch papist. He no longer demanded and promoted the authority of the Council as a weapon against the Pope,
but railed against the "deadly poison" of conciliarism
and in the Bulie "Execrabilis - of January i 8, i4 6o strictly forbade any reference to a general church assembly
as heresy and lèse majesté.

Of course, the careerist was also no longer the fun-loving author of lascivious erotica who advocated free love, but the one who had become the
The Holy Father's resting moral rigor. As late as 463, the year before his death, he insisted in the retraction bull "-In minoribus abentes": -Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite! - {Reject Aeneas, keep You to Pius!) And the Moralpauke was all the easier for him when he

already physically exhausted at fifty, plagued by gout, moreover bald was old and looked old.

Nevertheless, the following reaction is telling. When a priest friend asked for his dispensation from celibacy, he urged him to abstain, warning him to flee all women like the plague and to regard every woman as a devil. But, he adds g)eich, the *dispensation* W'tinschende will of course now say, -look, how strict Aeneas is. Now he praises chastity to me, and he spoke to me quite differently in Vienna and in Neustadt. It's true, but the years are getting shorter, death is approaching. Misery and l o s t to the grace of God is the man who does not occasionally turn inward, does not mend his ways and does not think of what he will be in the life to come. I must confess that I am tired and weary of it. Venus disgusts me. Of course, my strength is also waning. My hair is gray, my nerves are dried up, my legs are rotten and my body is covered with wrinkles. I can no longer serve any woman for pleasure and no mtr. from now on I serve Bacchus more than Venus. Wine nourishes me, delights and delights me and makes me blissful. This salt will be sweet to me until death. It is true, Venus flees me more than I do her.""

Even if the humanist "adornment of the papacy" was no longer involved in voluptuous adventures - in warlike affairs, actual or desired - Pius continued to die to the last, even if it is glossed over, glossed over, more pleasing aspects are emphasized, for example, praising him, in his own words, as a "lover of the woods", if one sees his pontificate lost in the "serene humanity" of his time and his life as pope "spotless". "He turned away from warlike politics - few popes, to their credit, have cared as little about warfare as Pius II," says Gregorovius, claiming that he left the Papal States almost unprotected, ignored fortresses and leisurely visited areas that his predecessors had only passed through on the run or with armies.

The historian of Rome is quite as idyllic, as he says.
of course, this was not the case.

This is shown by the pope's involvement in the Kingdom of Neaples, whose population fell from 3.¢ million to I.2 million at the end of the Middle Ages. The supposedly unwarlike prince of the Church fought in the Neapolitan conflict on the side of Ferrante I, a king who constantly waged wars and suppressed uprisings, including in Tuscany, Abruzzo, Apulia and Calabria, fought against the Duke Jean of Anjou-Lorraine, titular duke of Calabria, who was protected by France, and fought not least because of his relatives.

5o Ferrante had to give the nephew Antonio Piccolomini the marches of Sessa and Amalfi and the countship of Celano as fiefs in return for the Holy Father's assistance in the bloodshed. And even after the defeat of Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini, the same papal nephew would have received the entire territory of the Malatesta without the objection of Venice.

For the system of -great nepotism- also flourished under this high priest. The person closest to him, his secretary Gre- gorio Lolli, was the son of his aunt Bartolomea. A relative on his mother's side, Niccolö Forteguerra, became a cardinal; Giacomo Tolomei became bailiff of Castel Sant'Angelo; Alessandro Mirabelli Piccolo- mini, a banker in Rome, rector of Frascati. Of his sister Laudomia's four sons, nephew Andrea became lord of Castiglione della Pescaja, nephew Giacomo lord of Montemarciano, nephew Francesco a cardinal, nephew Antonio a duke, not to mention other family promotions, nepotistic tendencies, no, excesses, which also led the second Pius, who detested wars so much, to take up arms.

Not only in the Neapolitan conflict, of course, but also against his The papal troops defeated their opponents in the Papal States, Count Eversus, the Malatesta and Jacopo Piccinino (who was captured and murdered on behalf of King Ferrante). The papal troops were defeated at San Fabbiano in Abruzzo, at Sarno and at Castle Lione. However, His Holiness's 5trategе Federico of Ur- birio. *4 1 was able to subdue the whole of Sabina and, together with the Pius

A relative, Cardinal Forteguerra, a very promising name,
on August i 3, id 6z Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini,

the beautiful, daring, humanistically educated atheist, the concept of a rertaissanceman, but for von Pastor, "a gelding ruler, insolent heathen, bloodthirsty libertine, notorious criminal - the most appalling phenomenon of the early Renaissance epoch", indeed "one of the most terrible princes of all time" - Hider could not yet be included by the late historian of the popes.

In September of the following year, Malatesta was almost completely ousted from power following his defeat at Fano. Pius took all his cities except Rimini, called him the "Disgrace of Italy", had him condemned to death in absentia and had an image deceptively similar to his burned in two places in Rome with the inscription: -This is Sigismorido Malatesta, king of traitors, enemy of God and men, condemned to fire by the decision of the sacred college. -

Not excluded: that many of the gruesome stories circulating about Malatesta (whose 5arcophagus, how terrible, did not even have a Christian emblem) - murder of two of his wives, fornication with his own daughter, rape of uncounted people of both sexes - were hatched in the curial rumor mill. In short, -this pope-, writes Gregorovi- us, -who abhorred wars, defeated all his enemies, conquered their lands and enlarged the Papal States- - not only with Virgil in his hand.

After all, Pius II i q*-•4 • also supplied political opponents; bandits, terrorists, one might say today, with troops.
and executed more than a dozen of them, including Tiburtius, whose father Angelo de Maso had already been liquidated by Pope Nicholas V a decade earlier as a participant in the Porcaro coup (p. Zö3 f.), as had an older brother. And like both of them, Tiburtius was now also howled in the Capitol.

Moreover, if the pope sought to spread peace in Italy, which was shaken by factional struggles and disturbances, it was not least because he also intensely desired the resumption of the Crusades, as had long been underestimated; because he too, like his predecessors, strove for this, albeit with even less success, but from Be-

The Turkish invasion was not, as it had been for some time, about the traditional offensives, but about the containment of the Turkish invasion, of course, only the cave-in of the former Christian!

Even the electoral capitulation invoked by Pius called above all for the Turkish war. And since, on the one hand, he had already propagated this struggle at many German imperial diets before his car- dinate, and on the other hand, his pontificate lacked a pan-European, world-historical achievement, it was easy for the glory-hungry pontiff to repeatedly campaign for the liberation of Constantinople, to repeatedly remind princes and peoples in a missionary manner, to incite Europeans to a common war, even though even car- dinals opposed him.

The rapturous Romantic founded the Order of Knights -4sq And in the same year, a few weeks after his elevation, he organized a crusade congress of the rulers in Mantua, who kept him waiting for months, just as he completely missed his goal. In fact, the phantasr tried in all seriousness to win over the rulers with his "Epistula ad Mahometem", a long letter that was still controversial in the so. In his "Epistula ad Mahometem", a long and controversial letter that was still controversial in the 16th century, he tried to convert the victoriously rich Sultan Mohammed II, who had already conquered Lesbos and Bosnia and turned the Greek Empire into a Turkish one, to Christianity, promising him, whom the document never reached, the blue sky and a godly age for the blissful world. But nothing came of the Order of the Knights, nor of the religious war or the teaching of Mohammed.'- Nevertheless, in January 46o, Pius II proclaimed a three-year Europe's crusade against the Turks.

For the Turkish war was still regarded as a crusade, the Pope was still in charge, the former clerk of the Vienna Chancellery now appointed Emperor Frederick III as the general captain of the war he so longed for. The latter was so central to his thoughts and actions throughout the years that reforms or draft reforms, even the more mature Reformatio genera- ' - i 45s) of Nicholas of Cusa, simply fell by the wayside, individual cases aside. But his legate Cardinal Bessarion, repeatedly

Promising papal candidate, not insignificant humanist, protector of Poggio Bracciolini, Lorenzo Valla, Regiomontanus, was rebuffed with all his eloquence i 46ofiq6z by the emperor and the imperial estates as well as by his later legations for a Turkish crusade in Venice and France.'-.

Pius therefore decided to take the holy cause into his own hands.

Two events of the year i¢6z, one ideal and one material, so to speak, may have inspired him. On the one hand, the alleged head of the apostle Andreas, the brother of St. Peter, emerged as a result of the flight from the Turks and immediately became a - admittedly unpromising - coveted object for sale in European princely houses¡ One could hardly believe in popes any more, but one could still believe in the relics they marketed, one way or another.

In Rome, Cardinal Bessarion, in tears, presented the literally fabulous skull to the Pope, who was also shedding tears and had fallen to the ground pale as a corpse, and who greeted the disembodied arrival (had it been real, dead for almost a millennium and a half) in Latin as follows: -So you come at last, O most holy, fragrant head of the apostles, driven from your seat by Turkish fury. To your ßbrother, the prince of the apostles, you take refuge as an exile. This is the Alma Roma, which you see before you, and which is dedicated to the precious **blood of** your brother in the flesh. The Romans are your brother's nephews, and they all greet you as their uncle and father.

It' s no wonder that many Romans couldn't keep their faces clean in the face of the spectacle. And the following day, homage was paid to the fragrant head of the apostles (and Pope Pius) with a pompous procession that lasted for hours - because: Religion meant spectacle, display, ritual - and Pius apparently had a particular fondness for sumptuous feasts. The faithful masses led by the procession wound their way through the extremely decorated city, with Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia's palace outdoing everything in terms of splendor and Cardinal Bessarion preaching that the Prince of the Apostles would avenge his brother Andrew on the evil Turks, which he certainly did not do.

In the same year, a papal bull called the discovery of the alum mines of Tolfa by Giovanni de Castro, who was soon praised by papal court poets, a true miracle and another divine contribution to the Turkish Crusade, while Pius himself wanted to see him immortalized with a monument. Under him, the alum mines were immediately exploited by thousands of workers; they earned the Curia an estimated too ooo gold florins a year and were in operation for three hundred years.

Pius II, who found Italy bcfriedet, the tyrants paralyzed, called on the

zz. In October iq63, he once again called on all of Christendom to join the crusade and designated Ancona as the starting point for the following summer. In]uni, he then took the cross in Rome and, while Europe's princes, with the exception of a few, such as the Doges, refused to do so, he went to Ancona, faint-hearted and dying, driven by the ambition to set a world-historical signal, wanted to set sail at the head of the gathering crusaders, among whom the summer heat had already hatched epidemics, many of whom were already returning home, saw the sails of twelve Venetian ships on the horizon three days before his death, - carried with much difficulty to a window, and died affl i 5. August - 4 4 "

P/tuz II. (14 64-*4 y z),
" T H E F RO M M E MARIA ^

Pietro Barbo, scion of a rich Venetian merchant family, was not favored by his predecessor, who mocked him as -fromme Maria. He owed his ecclesiastical career to Uncle Eugene IV, who elevated his sister's son to cardinal at the age of z3, iq o.4

When Barbo won the 3O. August i 4 4 first round of voting
After becoming pope, he immediately broke a previously sworn, i 8-point election capitulation, in which he promised, among other things, the reform of the curia and the calling of a general council.

says. However, as this diminished his power as pope, he had himself released from his ed by an expert opinion from philopapal canonists and forced the cardinals, sometimes by force, to sign a heavily amended version of the bull, which they were not even allowed to read. Only one cardinal, Juan de Car- vajal, remained steadfast and refused to give h i s consent.'*

The new ruler was a man of great taste, a patron of the arts and book printing, a friend of lavish banquets and festivities¡ the Apostolic Chamber paid more than z3,000 florins for his coronation. The pope was vain, greedy for splendor, as his main residence, the Palazzo, which swallowed up large sums of money, shows.
S. Marco {today Palazzo Venezia), for the construction of which he plundered ancient monuments, even the Colosseum, and even had parts of it destroyed. And he appointed three relatives as cardinals, Marco Barbo, Baptista Zeno and Giovanni Michiel, who was later poisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo.

Paul chastised the masses - still a popular political tool today - with sports and games, and also cultivated the carnival, the "Ludi Romani", which he made world-famous; the focus was on the ritual mockery of the Jews, which the mocked had to pay for. Significantly, he not only introduced a new tax, the so-called quindemia, but also decreed•47 to celebrate the financially rich Holy Year every a y years.
For Ludwig von Pastor, this was just proof of "how much Paul II Promoting the salvation of the believers entrusted to him by God was close to my heart .."

The value of his crown, glittering with precious stones, was estimated at soo ooo gold florins; the treasure of Cardinal Scampo {p. zz8) was estimated at more. And when the latter died soon after his rival's victory, allegedly out of anger, and the Nepotes made off with their wealth, left to them in his will, the pontiff had them captured and whole loads of gold and precious objects brought back to the Vatican to dispose of as t h e y pleased - it was always stolen.

The relationship between the Pope and the College of Cardinals had been strained since the broken electoral treaty. And further enemies were created

Paul i¢66 by dismissing seventy chancery abbrievi-tors, high-ranking curial officials who may have fallen prey to venality, often including humanists, scholars and writers, who now lost their jobs and bread. The historian Barrolomeo Platina, for a time librarian to Cardirial Bessarion, - 475 äUCh head of the Vatican Library, had threatened the Pope with a General Council, whereupon the -h umanista Veneziano -, papa Paolo, had him thrown into the Castel Sant'Angelo for four months {according to others one year) and followed.

In general, Paul fl. - but, as Preundt repeatedly testified, also the father of a daughter - oh went to the state prison, perhaps not only to "inquire" there, but because he, allegedly gay, enjoyed seeing men naked under torture. Platina, however, took revenge and blackened Paul's image for centuries in his widespread papal history."

Finally, in 1468, the Holy Father was the first pope to persecute the Roman Academy {Accademia romana or pomponiana), a circle of humanists founded and led by the important Valla student Pomponius Laetus, who was apparently more interested in ancient paganism than Christianity and possibly wanted to overthrow Paul, although this could not be proven. However, the academics were accused of heresy, imprisoned for a time in Castel Sant'Angelo, even "questioned" and forbidden to read ancient Roman poets in schools
and the Academy (until z'7) was abolished.'-

Domestically, there were constant disputes with vassals in the Papal States, such as the Anguillara family. Often presented by ecclesiastical authors as a family of robber barons {which, to remind us again, the nobility generally were), the clan had once taken in the emperors Henry VI and Henry VII in Rome and crowned Senator Orso dell'Angui1larA 13q1 Petrarch as a poet, but later defied four popes. Paul II now took thirteen rocky castles from Count Eversus of Anguillara, a supporter of the papacy and the priesthood, but who nevertheless donated large sums of money to the church to save its soul, including sums stolen from pilgrims. And destroyed by the Holy Vatican, the

Power of sex "like smoke, like wax thrown into fire" (Cardinal Ammanati).

Inn the war for Rimini, in which the Afgwohn is involved for the increasing
power of Rome drove almost all of Italy, the Pope's army was defeated on August 3o i4 6q. And also against the Bohemian George
of Podiebrad i y8-I44 7*), which eventually developed into Utraquism Paul was not quite able to assert himself when he confessed to promoting the lay chalice. He formally stripped him of all dignities in q6 fi 66 and left his country in the hands of the Hungarian king Matthias I Corvinus/Hunyadi - who had been at war with Bohemia since *4* and had been the counter-king to George since *4 - in the so-called heretical war.
crusade to severe devastation without him, who also
Catholics, initially even the bishops of Olomouc and Wroclaw, to be completely defeated.

Paul also had little success in other areas of foreign policy. Neither did he succeed, as promised in the election capitulation, in continuing the
During the war against the Turks, who had conquered i4 63 Bosnia, captured and killed King Stefan, who• 47• had also taken Negroponte (Euboia), the last major Venetian base; he still confronted King Louis XI of France (•4 6I-i¢83) for the
Elimination of the Pragmatic Sanction (p. **4-), the so-called
The Russian Orthodox Church could not be reconciled with the Gallican freedoms. At the age of f4, Paul 11 died unexpectedly in z6. JH ' *47- due to a stroke or, according to other sources,
-allegedly of a heart attack, while he was with one of his loved ones. lingslust boys had anal intercourse--(Cawthorne).'°

Si XTUS ÏV . 14 7 I - 4 4)
K "iE G U N D M OR D FOR NE POTEN,
B DCI N N O F T H E S PAN IC INQ U I S ITI O N

Francesco della Rovere, born in relatively modest circumstances i'-4 in Gelle (near Savona/Liguria), was taken to a Franciscan monastery at

an early age, rose -4 4 ZtlfTt General of his or-

r'7 *<lTlCardinal, on q. AuguSt*47 *<lTi Éä St; WO)3fll during the coronation celebrations there was a popular riot and stones were thrown at Sixtus' palanquin. {And after his death
The diocesans so completely emptied the papal chambers that the lciche had to be covered with a borrowed gown). '

Rodrigo Borgia took the coronation of the Rovere, and like him, Sixtus, the former monk, did not exactly live a celibate life, a pope who threw parties with official mistresses, who had sex with a sister-in-lawq his children, who rewarded his pleasure boys with rich bishoprics and archbishoprics, who founded pleasure houses in Rome (allegedly even a noble lupanar - for both wicked -), which he rented out to cardinals, while he received from his dimen - every seventh Roman woman was a hooker - zo ooo (according to Theiner: 8o ooo) ducateri tax from his dimen.

But the Holy Father, with whom the High Renaissance usually begins, is said to have been personally kind and pious, a sincere admirer - a particularly beautiful trait - of the Blessed Virgin, whose cult he promoted, for whom he built two Marian churches in Rome, indeed, in whose honor he even introduced the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary•47* , who, moreover, was born in Rome.
The Sistine Chapel named after him was consecrated to him. In the - history of theology" he will "always be called that - (Jesuit Hertling). In the history of papal whoremongers, too.

After all, he begrudged others what he himself enjoyed, according to a contemporary chronicler: -When the family of the Cardinal of St. Lucia presented him with the request to obtain permission for sodomy during the three hot months of the year - June, July and August - the Pope wrote below their petition: -May it be done as requested'. - -*

Sixtus also had a sense of money and business, as his Roman brothel proves, even if other bishops, abbots and superiors built or bought houses in his day and not only in his day. According to Franz Xaver Seppelt, the Rovere - as a religious, as can be observed - supposedly had no idea of the value of money. But not by chance

He was the first pope to have his likeness put on coins. He speculated with finances, ramped up fiscalism, increased the number of purchasable offices to 6z5, more than double. He bought notariates, protonotariates, procurator posts at the C h a m b e r , sold entire new colleges, including strange titles such as a college of a hundred Janissaries, for too 8oo ducats. He increased the taxes on priests who called themselves mistresses, raised the tax on priests and the levies to the church state (*269* percent of total revenue). His imposition of tithes, the papal "Turkish tithes", aroused protests from Italy to Poland, Sweden and Norway and intensified anti-papal sentiment, especially in Germany. Sixtus also invented new sources of income, for example by allowing rich men to comfort certain matrons in the absence of their husbands. He traded in indulgences, even allowing them to be offered for the deceased, to whom they were to be offered "intercessionally", and celebrated i4 7s a Jubilee year **.

Like so many of his predecessors, 5ixtus had already acquired the highest dignity in Christendom with all its simonistic practices. He had bribed his protector, the Duke of Milan, with generous gifts, just as his nephew and companion Pierro Riario had bribed the majority of the cardinals with lavish promises.

Initially, the new pope took up the most pressing political issue, the old crusade program, apparently with great enthusiasm, although he was not very successful either. He did invest a lot of money in the armament of his fleet - 47' -47*. flaCh the account books alone,•44 OO GOldducats - and in the spring of*47* he sent '>* most prominent cardinals to Spain, France, Germany, Poland to motivate the princes for the Turkish war. But once again little interest was shown, and the leader of the papal arrnada, Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, appointed admiral by his master, did not achieve more than a few modest results in the so-called Levant War, despite the procession and the blessing of the banners and galleys by Sixtus before setting sail.

Nevertheless, Caraffa *473 - ' a5 captured Muslims on i z camels - was triumphantly received in Rome.

*47 the pope allowed the French king to introduce a "Jubilee" indulgence where he wished: half of the money collected was to be used for the defense of the island of Rhodes.
the other to the papal chamber. In Scotland, the cathedral in Glasgow had to be visited to obtain the Jubilee indulgence: one third of the revenue belonged to the church, two thirds to the crusade treasury. In Hungary, i4 8 i the jubilee indulgence
announced a second time - to raise the money for the
Turkish war.

Even when the Turks conquered Otranto in Apulia, slaughtered the inhabitants, devastated the region, the dismayed pope was already considering fleeing to France and the fear of the invaders suddenly gripped the whole of Italy, it was not possible to launch a major counter-offensive, but only to win back Otranto with papal Neapolitan ships and Hungarian auxiliary troops; and this was probably only because, soon after Mohammed II's death (which the whole of Europe celebrated with church festivals and celebrations of thanksgiving), the struggle of the two sultan's sons for the throne broke out and the Turkish commander was able to take over Otranto. (which the whole of Europe celebrated with church festivals, thanksgiving processions and bonfires), the struggle between the two sultans' sons for the throne broke out and the Turkish commander preferred to evacuate Otranto.

Pa uf II's attempt at reconciliation, the negotiations with Ivan III 1*4 --- s oy) on a reunification of the Russian Orthodox Church with Rome, which was of course also to lead to assistance in the Turkish war, was also resumed in vain."

Sixtus, however, was far too busy with domestic politics, i.e. taking care of his clan, for him to have had any major successes in foreign policy. For what he evidently wanted to build up, indisputably his main business, was a kind of grand nepotism, a comprehensive favoritism of his own, the Riario, Basso, Giuppo, which surpassed everything that had ever existed in this respect in terms of sequence and scope. A veritable shower of favors, a cloudburst of benefices and privileges fell on the pope's large family of two brothers and four sisters, as well as on the relatives of cardinals. The real turkeys, the contemporaries sneered, were the pope's nephews.

A whole series of his nephews, six in total, made Six- tus - two already, in open violation of his election vows, on i§, December4 7* - u Cardinals: three Rovere, Giuliano, late Pope Julius 11, who received six bishoprics in addition to numerous abbeys, Cristoforo, a systematic benefice hunter, and Hieronymus della Rovere and Pietro and Raffaele Riario, the former a cardinal at the age of twenty-five, the latter at seventeen; whereby -nephews - at that time often - bastards - were real sons of their holy fathers. In the case of Pietro Riario (perhaps a child of his own sister) and his brother Girolamo, this seems "more than likely" to the Catholic papal historian Kühner. After all, nephews also became "instruments of his infamous pleasures".

Pietro in particular enjoyed the pope's full favor. He gave him several abbeys, four bishoprics and a patriarchate, made him Bishop of Treviso, Archbishop of Seville, Valencia, Florence and Patriarch of Constantinople. A poor Franciscan friar, he now received an annual income of more than 6oooo gold florins.

His luxury was legendary. The court ladies he hosted were flattered to piss in gilded silver nightdresses. At his public banquets, actors, artists and poets would occasionally perform, domestics clad in silk would wait on guests with their full artistry, and one course after another would be announced with trumpets and flutes. Roast wild boar with their fur appeared on the table, whole fallow deer, even a bear, peacocks with their feathers, storks, cranes, silver-plated fish, confectionery in the most varied colors and shapes - and his mistress was covered w i t h pearls from her tail to her sole.

Cardinal Pietro burst into the Curia with a hundred race penitents, he traveled through Italy as legate with incredible pomp and unique powers, idolized by the people, courted by purple bearers, received with royal honors in Milan and Venice. And when he died two years later, after insane extravagances and debauchery, on 1974 at the age of just twenty-eight, he had zoo ooo, according to other reports 3oo ooo gold florins.

He was a criminal, left behind a mountain of debt, literally coitized himself to death - and was also given one of the most beautiful tombs of all time by Mino da Fiesole.

However, Sixtus IV now turned his attention to Girolamo Riario, Pietro's brother. In the meantime, the latter had risen from a greengrocer to become Count of Bosco and became the husband of the famous Caterina Sforza, the illegitimate daughter of Duke Galeazzo Maria, who was considered his mother's murderer and died at the age of thirty-three on Christmas Eve i'7 CfSt in the church of San Stefano in Milan under the daggers of young noblemen - all Christians, just to remind you in passing.

The uncle or father, the Holy Father at any rate, bought Girolamo Riario the Count Shah Imola for so ooo ducats, invested him also with the county of Forli (where•4 8 tyrannicides stabbed him to death) and sought to confer on him further cities, Faenza, Ravenna, Rimini, the whole of Romagna - the intended basis of a papal nepotism, -a state of his own-, whereby Sixtus -back-used military and spiritual weapons carelessly" and transgressed "all previously valid boundaries of nepotism" (Jaimer).

Not every papal relative could become a purple bearer. Thus one nephew became duke; another, the very young brother of Cardinal Giuliano, Giovanni Rovere, was entrusted with Siriigaglia and Mondovi, despite protests from high prelates, and was also appointed city prefect and the daughter Joanna of Federico of Urbino, whom the pope elevated to duke, was chosen as his wife.

For almost his entire pontificate, Sixtus IV was primarily concerned with ecclesiastical and Italian territorial politics, i.e. the care of his family. This is why he waged wars, why he schemed, deceived and conspired, and why there were serious political upheavals, rebellions and campaigns. And all this, of course, under metapolitical proclamations, pretended higher goals, under the guise of his priestly office and religion.

Sixrus tried to play Milan, Florence, Romagna, Ferrara and Naples into Count Girolamo Riario's hands by changing war alliances four times.

This led to the Pazzi conspiracy, which, according to the Swiss historian Volker Reinhardt today, proves the imagination of contemporary political thriller writers to be poor: the conspiracy of a few super-rich Florentine families against the gradually declining power of the Medici, who ruled Florence. However, the plot had been "prepared in Rome" {Handbook of European History), "under the benevolent aegis of the Pope" (Reinhardt). Sixtus IV, who had recently withdrawn his financial transactions from the Me- dici - traditionally the popes' bankers - and entrusted them to the Roman banking house of the Pazzi, also cooperated with them politically. He was in on it, approved and wished for the Florentine coup d'état, only the extent of his understanding of the egg is, as usual in such cases, controversial. But it was self-evident that none of this could have happened without murder and manslaughter, without the physical destruction of the Medici chiefs, and that the actual masterminds were obviously the Pope and Girolamo Riario. They wanted to expand and obtain a signoria in Florence, or at least incorporate the city into their sphere of power under the rule of the Pazzi. The young Archbishop Francesco Salviati of Pisa, who was rejected by the Medici and had been promised the archbishopric of Florence, acted as a liaison between them and the conspirators.

Da Lorenzo and Giuliano Medici after various changes to the plan on Sunday, April z6. April• 47 . ' during a high mass in Florence Cathedral, but the papal captain Giambattista da Montesecco, who had initially been hired to carry out the operation, was unable to do so.

When he preferred not to do this so solemnly, only outside the church, in an unconsecrated place, two less sensitive people who were more accustomed to dealing with the higher and sacred stood in for him: Antonio Maffei of Volterra and the apostolic secretary Stefano of Bagnorea. Probably during the consecration, before the host was raised, Giuliano Medici was butchered at the high altar with wounds and stabbed with a knife as a precaution, while the main figure, Lorenzo Medici il Magnifico, who had the status of a prince in the city on the Arno, escaped slightly injured as a result of a breastplate under his clothes {not without Girolamo later being

had tried to have him murdered several times). And because the Florentines were in a vendetta against the putschists, members of the Pazzi family, Archbishop Salviati of Pisa
including at the windows of the Palazzo della Signoria, until the crowd tore the fallen bodies to pieces in the street. Both assassins also lost their spiritual lives. And the executions c o n t i n u e d until id8o.

Sixtus IV. But Sixtus IV hurled curses around him, excommunicated the damned priest murderer Lorenzo Medici and his followers, imposed an interdict on the city, confiscated all Florentine goods in Rome, incited the Swiss to invade Italy, The Swiss were incited to invade Italy, so that their armed troops appeared in the Po Valley, and, supported by Naples, waged a devastating war against Florence, which, however, was supported by Milan, Venice, Ferrara, France and others. However, when Ferrante also defected from the pope and Otranto was conquered
{p. z8z), Sixtus preferred to conclude an alliance with Venice and peace with Florence.

The war against Florence was followed by the so-called Ferrara War
{r 8i-i 8444). The pope now fought in alliance with Venice, which first
hesitated, ersr mufite with Ferrara -as a kind of decoy- {Kretschmayr), while he wanted to win the kingdom of Naples with Venetian support for Girolamo Riario, but also to trick Venice, namely not to give Ferrara to the Venetians, but likewise to the Nepotene.

The pope's evil game is driving most of Italy into
flames of war.

In addition to Venice, a number of less important dynasties and cities stood by Sixtus, while Naples, Florence and Milan sided with Ferrara. However, Rome itself, teeming with assassins and other gangsters, was, as so often, at odds. The Orsini fought for the pope, the Colonna and Savelli against him, although all these families were split again. Blood feuds broke out among the sons of Christians, street fights raged, heads fell, and the warriors dined and feasted on altars and in sacristies. And the Holy Father imprisoned

even Cardinals Colonna, Giambattisra Savelli and his brother Matiano were imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo. However, Rome's surroundings were also affected; after all, in the
ii. and i 5. century z5 percent of the villages around the Hei-
city.

In the meantime, Neapolitan warships, twenty triremes under Ferrante, lay off Ostia and harassed the coast, Duke Alfonso of Calabria, Ferrante's son, attacked the ecclesiastical state and, even Muslim horsemen among his troops, raided the gates of Rome almost daily with plunder. After the arrival of Robert Malatesta, the young dynast of Rimini, with Venetian reinforcements on August 3, 14, the pope passed by, blessing his cannon fodder from a Vatican window: Horsemen, crossbowmen, but also riflemen, artillery and over qooo foot soldiers. And a few days later they were victorious in the battle of Campo Morto {field of the dead) south-east of Rome in the malaria-infested Pontine Marshes under the leadership of Malatesta. On both sides Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, over a thousand people died miserably, and Sixtus cheered the message of joy and passed it on to the Venetians, to the friendly states. He had all the church bells rung and attended a thanksgiving service in Santa Maria del Popolo himself.

Roberto Malatesta died of swamp fever just three weeks after his victory. He disappeared under St. Peter's with full honors - and the Holy Father drove Girolamo to Rimini to snatch Malatesta's widow and son Pandolfo, still a child, from her inheritance. Only the Florentines prevented the villainous act. However, as a result of certain circumstances, the Pope once again found it opportune to change fronts. He broke away from Venice and joined forces with Naples, which had just fought a bloody war. In the summer of iq83, he imposed the interdict on Venice and hurled the ban, albeit without effect.

The hostilities continued unabated. In Rome, where Sixtus and the terror of the city, Count Riario, stood with the Orsini against the Colonna, churches and houses were looted, palaces were torn down, houses were built and houses were destroyed.

entrenchments, stormed barricades, threw fires. Mari imprisoned, tortured, expelled, kidnapped and killed prominent leaders. Once, in a battle lasting only two hours, around forty people died on the Colonna side and thirteen on the other side.

The war extended to the whole of Latium, where the pope wanted to destroy and eradicate the colonies in order to use their goods and empires to furnish the barred nepotist, who in turn extorted money from the churches of Rome, while Father Sixtus equipped his swords with artillery, blessed cannons and stretched his hands to the sky without being able to prevail. Against all odds, he was forced to accept the favorable terms for Venice, which he was able to exchange.

Peace of Bagnolo on7. August i' 4 and died - as it is said - out of anger about it.

Sixtus IV gained particular fame as one of the most effective promoters of the "new" Inquisition. He allowed

its introduction by a special bull of i. November1478 Ferdinand V of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. The sovereign

paar was empowered to arrest and judge all "heretics" of his empire (especially the supposedly Judaizing converts, the -New Christians-, who were first forced to convert and then accused of dishonesty) and to confiscate their property for the benefit of the Pope, the Spanish crown and, of course, the highly deserving "holy tribunal".

Mass executions were now carried out against the victims; they were either burnt alive - with perfected death techniques - or after they had been strangled and "garroted"; a method used by street robbers, among others, who rendered the victim unconscious by throwing a noose over him¡ the garroters of the Inquisition brought the victims, who were likewise to be robbed, to the scene.

-However, this was seen as a sign of special mercy, **a** sign of mercy from the spiritual executioners. After the **plague** had carried off many of those imprisoned, their corpses were dug up in order to judge the survivors and collect their inheritance from their relatives. The system of informers and denunciations grew and was demanded by the church in sermons and confessions as pleasing to God.

Thus the most terrible and disgraceful spawn of the human spirit, papally authorized, royally controlled, more cruel and thorough than anywhere else, is approaching its climax, an almost perfect instrument of mass murder, a systemically ingenious terror that, exemplary for analogous institutions in the world, has lasted for more than three centuries, bİG i 34•*'

Understandably, the papal nuncio in Spain is in favor of this. Nicolas Franco, warmly supported the pastoral cause, which often left only the choice between baptism and death. Urid his Holiness repeatedly mentions, iø8o and•4 •. inquisitors for Spain, then the Dominican monk Tomas de Torquemada 4> -49 1. nephew of Cardinal Juan de Torquemada {Turrecremata), one of the leading opponent of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. Pope Sixtus confirms him r43 as Grand Inquisitor for Castile and Aragon, whereupon he uses the title: -We, Brother Thomas Torquemada, monk of the Order of Friars Preachers, prior of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Segovia, confessor of the King and Queen, our sovereigns, and Inquisitor General in all their kingdoms and possessions against heretical corruption, appointed and bcauthorized by the Holy Apostolic See1-.-'

This Catholic super monster, who played a leading role in preparing the great Jewish pogrom of iĄQ Z. and in the Dominican convent of Santo Tomfis (de Aquino), which he founded towards the end of his life, insisted on purity of blood {limpieza de sangre) as the norm, now hunted down the allegedly Judaizing -New Christians, i.e. Jews who had become Christians. The funeral pyre excesses are committed as veritable popular spectacles and are still being staged under 5ixtus on three days in Toled°4 O Marrans burned, like the Jews who converted to Catholicism which means pig.

As the actual founder of the Spanish Inquisition, which is said to have exterminated over too many people, as the organizer and ideologue of its terror, Torquemada, who considered himself "an instrument of divine providence" and could therefore do anything in his conscience, was able to do so in his eighteen years of life.

During his work as head of the Inquisition Tribunal to Rao, people were burned alive, 68ąo -in effigie", because they were deceased or imprisoned.ş7 i zx were removed from state or other offices and disgraced by him, a total of about z i4 3oo fami-
read forever ruined - information provided by Juan Antonio Llorentes, the late
The report is based on the archives of the Secretary of the Spanish Inquisition. This does not include those persons who, because of their connections with the condemned, more or less had to share their misfortune ... --^

In the year of his death, Pope Sixtus IV conveyed praise from Cardinal Borgia to the Spanish Grand Inquisitor and added in turn: -We have received this praise with great joy and are delighted that you, rich in connoisseurship
and clothed *with* power, direct all your efforts to such objects as will exalt the name of Herm and be useful to the true faith. We invoke God's blessing upon you and encourage you, dear son, to continue with the former energy and to serve tirelessly to secure and consolidate the foundations of religion; in this matter you can always count on our special benevolence.

His former close student friend, the Dominican Andrea Zamo, could no longer count on his goodwill that year.
metić, a noble Balkanese, was elevated by Sixtu5*47 to titular archbishop of Granea (near Salonica). However, when the priilate, at the time imperial envoy in Rome, began to sharply criticize the conditions at the papal hot, Sixtus had him thrown into Castel Sant'Angelo. And all he did, freed thanks to imperial intervention, was to demand the reform of the Church and the Curia and the general
my ßasler KonziĹ {with citation of the pope), Archbishop Zamometić ended up in Kerkez again, this time through the emperor and in Basel, where he was found two years later, xą8ą, strangled to death in his cell."

INNozExzVüIl*4*4-*4
The " Go LD ENE TIME AGE OF THE BASTA R EN

"Whoever enters the conclave as pope leaves it again as a cardinal," Ferrara's envoy later wrote to his master. This is what happened to Rodrigo Borgia, who as vice-chancellor had amassed enough money to win the election. For conclaves were no longer decided by naked force, as was once so often the case, but by corruption. But no matter how much Borgia promised offices, money, goods and benefits, the cardinals distrusted him. And since his fiercest rival, the nephew of the deceased pope, Giuliano della Rovere, the future Julius II, also recognized his lack of opportunities, he did not lack for bribery either and did everything he could to push through a man who he could control, a compromise candidate of the rival Orsini and Colonna: Giovanni Battista Cibo, who had declared himself Innocent of the Holy See. VIII.

Johannes Burckard, once expelled from the Elsafi for forging documents and theft, but who rose to become the papal master of ceremonies in ROm4 j, as the organizer of the conclave, reports in his diary how Cibo's generosity, his bookish generosity, spoke for itself, how the cardinals, who were already lying down for the night, only sparsely emerged from their cells.
dressed to present their suppliken, their wish lists, and how Cibo signed them all very obligingly, without reading what he was signing and then without keeping it.

Innocent VIII was just the -goodness and kindness- in person, but unfortunately -his Gorleben ... not free from moral lapses - {Seppelt). And these moral lapses, when they become known, always seem t o be the worst for many modern church historians. At that time, people thought less o f it, especially around the Holy Fathers themselves.[4']

Giovanni Battista Cibo, a noble Genoese family
grew up at the court of Naples. There he had, as the story goes, adopted "the terrible bad habit of sodomy". - His

His unusual beauty gained him access to the family of Cardinal Philip of Bologna in Rome to serve his pleasure. After the death of his protector, he became the favorite of Paul II and Sixms IV, who made him a cardinal."

Whether such services were due to lust and inclination or more due to his career, the favorite of Sixtus IV is said to have had eight illegitimate sons and just as many illegitimate daughters - it was no coincidence that his time in office was called the Golden Age of Bastarde. "Why are you looking for witnesses," they sneered in Rome, "to prove whether Cibo was a man or a woman? Look a t the multitude of his children! That's the best proof. He guiltily fathered eight boys and just as many girls: Rome can rightly c a l l this man 'father'."

However, no matter how many offspring poisonous tongues were said to have followed him (at the time of his election as pope, two were certainly still alive, Teodora and Franceschetto), he made no secret of this and did not pass them off as nephews, nieces or anything else. On the contrary, he openly married some of his own to various European princes, did not hesitate to celebrate weddings with all the pomp and circumstance in the Vatican, and occasionally even the mother of his daughters joined in the celebrations. But Cibo may have given up his mistress as pope, he may have consoled himself with several concubines - "His holiness rises from the bed of whoredom", a s they say, "to open and close the gates of purgatory and heaven."--.

And since the apple doesn't fall far from the tree, Pope's son Franceschetto Cibo, who lived with his father in the Vatican, did the same. On nightly forays, eq is said to have raped every woman he desired - without reprimand from the Holy Father. When *he* was not out breaking and entering and committing acts of amorous violence, Franceschetto spent his evenings in the city's gambling dens, and when he once lost 9,000 ducats to Riario in a single night, he accused the cardinal of fraud and the pope forced him to repay the sum.

Innocent VIII was just as interested in money as he was in the happiness of his

children. He arranged the marriage of Franceschetto to Maddalena Medici, the daughter of Lorenzo il Magnifico, not hesitating to elevate his thirteen-year-old son Giovanni Medici, later Leo X, to cardinal in return (after all, Sixthus IV had already made the seven-year-old an apostolic protonotary). At the same time, the illegitimate son of the papal brother became a cardinal.

Like his predecessor in office, who had left him with large debts, Innocent needed nothing more than to reorganize his finances, especially as his courtly lifestyle was as ostentatious as it was immoral. For a time, even the crown treasury and the pope's mitre and tiara had to be pawned. Some of his officials even felt compelled to keep their heads above water by running a counterfeiting workshop and trading in fake bulls. Indulgences were sold en masse, even for the worst offenses, and any number of superfluous offices (not only in the Curia) were created and awarded to the highest bidders. Just the introduction of z¢ new papal secretarieships brought in a purchase price of 63 ooo chamber ducats. And for every crime one went unpunished, one could satisfy the papal chancellery accordingly. But there were crimes all the time; only from the fall of Innocent VIII to the coronation of his successor were azo murders counted.

The constantly money-hungry pontiff made one of his best deals with the Turks of all people. Although he initially called for a crusade against them and wanted to fight them for at least five years, everything came to nothing, and in the end he was the first pope to enter into treaties with the Ottomans, a deal with Sultan Bayezid II.

In the struggle for rule after Muhammad II.

After his death•4 his younger son Jem, Bayezid's brother and rival, had to flee and - victim of years of harassment and hostage until his death - managed to escape via the unscrupulous, taciturn Grand Master of the Order of St. John Pierre d'Aubusson

on Rhodes to France and*4 9. g-against a cardinal's hat for the Pope. After

In an outrageous deal, Innocent imprisoned the unfortunate prince, whom he had long coveted, for dooo ducats a year from the High Gate, so that he would not be a danger to his brother.

i qqo, his envoys in Rome delivered precious gifts together with the three-yearly installment, xpo ooo gold ducats, which corresponded to about 6o percent of the regulary income from the Papal States. The devoted {Saintly) Father used the money to equip his Xindians, and another delegation from Constantinople even brought the precious tip of the Holy Lance - triumphantly received, of course - which had once pierced the crucified Christ, had long been venerated in Nümberg and Paris at the same time and was still kept in St. Peter's at least in the second century. Century in St. Peter's {cf. 4 z . Kap.!).

Besides his children, money was the only thing he carried,
lax, decision-shy man in the long term. And as he also fell ill often and for long periods of time and was thought to be dead several times, he often handed over the reins of government to Guiliano Rovere, who therefore enforced his election in a Simonist manner.

Right at the beginning of Innocent's pontificate, the cardinal called the church into the long passionate struggle of the Neapolitan barons against King Ferdinand 1 of Aragon (Ferranre). Expecting nothing good from him, but rather seriously fearing for their feudal privileges, the barons had already tried to prevent his succession to the throne and then repeatedly conspired against the "tyrant". And since Cardinal Giuliano was at enmity with the Aragonese dynasty, since the king did not recognize Rome's supremacy and refused to pay the feudal interest, the Curia took the side of the rebellious nobility in what was once described as "the most terrible of all dramas of the fifth century".

The conflict, which also threatened Rome, where the Vatican was turned into a fortress, and severely damaged both the Papal States and papal politics, led to international entanglements. On the one hand, the barons appealed to Duke René of Lorraine to assert his right to the throne of Neapolis as a descendant of Anjou, while Venice and Genoa also stood by the Pope.

On the other hand, Hungary, Spain, Mayland and Florence supported the Neapolitans.

The war dragged on with devastation, battles in various theaters and several interruptions until *49*. The Pope, who even allowed all criminals to return to strengthen his defenders, threatened to enfeoff King Charles VIII of France with Naples. And King Ferrante took revenge on the nobility by confiscating their estates and capital, imprisoning their wives and children, arresting the Counts of Sarno, Francesco Coppola, and of Policastro, Antonello de Petruci, the king's secretary, together with their sons, and had others cruelly slaughtered in the secret dungeons of Castelnuovo, while other rebels remained imprisoned there until the French arrived.--

Charles VIII, of small stature, reform-minded, a bit randy and praised by his contemporaries for his piety, had married Margaret of Burgundy i Pq i Anne of Brittany instead of Margaret, who was already in France but had been sent back by him, although she had already been married to Archduke Maximilian I of Õrreland by procuration.

After long military disputes over the "Burgundian heritage", a new confiict took place. And when the Peace of Senlis on z3. MâÍ 4s 3, Charles, the pious king, was already preparing for another war, the campaign to
Naples, thus opening a sixty-five-year struggle for hegemony in Italy with Arabia and Habsburg. Thanks to his heavy cavalry, his superior artillery and the Swiss infantry accompanying him, probably the best in Europe at the time, he won the expedition for the time being and entered Naples on February i çqqy as "rex pacificus- a riding on a donkey - a true chfistian prince of peace -, especially as a
"The main aim - of his pious undertaking, quite obviously - was to win over Naples as a bridgehead for a crusade {Laban- de-Mailfert}.'°.

At that time, however, Innocent VIII - after a five-day death struggle ' - had already p a s s e d away, not without, of course

to have etched his name forever in the history of salvation with his writing -Summis desiderantes affecti- bus-, the so-called Bull of Witches, which brings the phenomenon of Christian ghost and witch mania into our field of vision.

g. CHAPTER

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE LONG CHRISTIAN WITCH CRAZE

-It is necessary to go back beyond the origins of Christianity co undetst "nd how medieval people could become so obsessed with the Devil and his demons."
effrey Burron Russell'

-Tliomas von Aquin, who adopted the Augustinian model of the thesis of the devil's pact (S.th. II- II= q.9 z ä. i), systematized the heterogeneous elements of the superstitious in the concept of witches and heretical witchcraft. His The superstition system lays the theoretical foundations for the doctrine of the devil's alliance and the Satanic cult and thus c o n t r i b u t e d significantly to the development of the late medieval and early modern witch craze, the persecution of witches and the establishment of the Inquisition."
Christoph Daxelmüller in the Lexicon of the Middle Ages'

"Albwh' Dürcr ('47 +-+' -) **bcg started late** z's7 FDir the production of son HexenbiÏdcm, gcfollowed by other bcrÎihmtcn artistlcrn **of his time such as Hans Baldung** Grien ¡ iq8 -i yq 5), Niklaus Manuel Deutsch lco. iq8j-i y jo), Urs Graf (ca. u 85-r 5z) nder Albrecht Attdnrfer {r# 8c'-i8). As Jane P. Oavidson has shown, witches were one of the most widespread pictorial themes of the time.-
Wolfgang Bèhringer'

-The greatest witchcraft is when you don't us **Witchcraft** glaubc.- The Hammer of Witches-

Probably the strongest correlation to the witchcraft complex is the phenomenon of sorcery, an admittedly particularly vague term, yet universal, typical of probably all times, and also certainly older than the being or non-being of witchcraft. And even in early cultures, magic, the -belief in power- in the broad sense, is linked to the so-called supernatural, the divine, the religious via the sorcerer, medicine man, magician, shaman and priest.

It was not uncommon - although hardly ever in medieval and later Christianity - to differentiate between "white" and "black" magic, depending on whether positive or negative effects were attributed to it, useful or harmful powers. The beneficial ones included fortune-telling, weather magic, astrology, the art of healing and, especially in Judaism (which was otherwise hostile to all magic, such as fortune-telling, conjuring and death), the wearing of amulets. Harmful activities included seduction or killing by means of magical practices.

The belief in such natural and supernatural powers, both good and bad, was widespread in antiquity and even in the millennium after it, but sorcery initially remained unpunished in the Middle Ages, generally until the High Middle Ages, or was punished with fines and bufie, whereby practiced harmful magic in serious, albeit very isolated cases even entailed the death penalty by burning.

Long before the outbreak of the Christian ghost craze, however, the world was caught up in it, the Vedic religion as well as Egyptian or Talmudic Judaism, whose promoter Rabbi Jochanan3 o knew about demons. The most diverse ghosts
of stone populated the underworld, the earth and the Luhraum,

terrorized or protected the people. The most diverse aberrations of the mind were rampant. There were whole armies of spirits of the dead, ancestors, house, forest, game, etc., and from pagan and Jewish superstition, from religious syncretism, Greek mythology, philosophy, folk and tribal beliefs, ghosts and old magic practices penetrated into the world.

Christianity {III }9 ff.), where even Jesus, one of the usual magicians for Celsus, casts out "many evil spirits". 63fl2al the vocabulary "daimonion" is found in the New Testament, predominantly

in the Gospels, and there, usually negatively characterized by the context, it is above all the "unclean", the "evil spirits" that appear.

Again and again the Church Fathers condemned the means of magic, the demonic, and fought it by - gruesome irony - trying to suppress, ward off, eradicate corresponding pre-Christian elements with Christian ones, whereby the pagan art of magic, somewhat remodeled, -reached new bloom" (Real- lexikon für Antike und Christentum}, whereby the whole spook of hell penetrated Christianity from the beginning, the -enemy-, the "evil-, the -ruler of this world-.

Therefore, exorcistic gestures were used to ward off spirits. As in Babylonia, people blew against the devil and also liked to spit against him. As in New Guinea, Persia, Egypt and Rome, evil was smoked out in Christianity, here and there even today. People wore crosses **instead of** ancient amulets, made the sign of the cross on their foreheads before bathing to rub mud into them. Yes, demons were taught to fear with the cross, the sign of the cross. Women used it to scare off intrusive suitors and lovers, it was recommended against bites and poisons, it was especially recommended at night, but basically always. - Make this sign," advises i4 century Cyril of)erusalem, "when you are

eat and drink when you sit, when you lie down, when you

when you stand up, when you speak, when you walk, to put it briefly, in all your actions." The holy Doctor of the Church actually called the cross a "demon scare". However, it was already known as an apotropaic sign, as a means of protection in Jewish Palestine.

Christian priests also practise exorcism, exorcism, exorcism of devils, for example (according to the Rituale Romanum authorized by the bulls of many popes) at baptism: -I cast you out, unclean spirit"; - Hear, cursed Satan, and depart ... - Again and again, the clergy are admonished in the ritual not to be deceived by the devil, not to fall prey to his tricks and wiles, but rather to pay attention to his behavior, to search him out with all kinds of questions, and to work with the sign of the cross and holy water.

Augustine, like so many others, had many consequences.

What he knows about demons, what he believes about them - he claims to have seen a demon himself - is beyond belief. Demons, fallen angels, appear as gods, but they are not gods, they occupy a middle position. They populate the air like birds, but are even faster. Yes, the great church teacher can imagine them completely disembodied, but insists on their corpus, because in the end they must "roast eternally in hell, for which an airy body is ill-suited.

In general, these little devils' "Äufiere are not worth very much", and even less, of course, their character. The demons are an envious, malicious, deceitful gang, puffed up with arrogance, "humble" indeed, but - therefore (!) also miserable -, competent counselors indeed, but satanic ones. St. Augustine, the expert, is even the author of his own writing on "The Wisdom of Demons" and is quite certain: "When dealing with them, the mind is not formed without benefit ..."

Like his.

For example, he writes: -It is an oft-heard tale, and many claim to have experienced it themselves or to have heard it from those who have experienced it and about whose credibility there is no doubt, that forest men and fauns, whom the people call incubi, have lusted after women and have sought and practiced sexual intercourse with them; and that certain demons, whom the Gauls call Dusen, eagerly attempted and often committed these impieties, and who firmly assert this, are such people that it would be impertinent to deny it.-

The Bishop of Hippo, who was firmly convinced of the existence of women after the fauns below, also believed in the possibility of sexual intercourse with the devil, in the xoitus of evil spirits who had fallen from heaven with human women, as reported by so many Christians worthy of veneration. He believed in a pact with the devil, a covenant with - evil - as it also appears in the legend of Theophilus, the oldest Western mythological legend, the archetype of the Faust legend, a delusion that plays a devastating role in the history of Christian witch-hunts.

St. Augustine and the other ancient church fathers had a great influence on theological reflection on the devil in the Middle Ages, where priests and laypeople practiced rites -little removed from heathenism- {Russell). Thus, for the first collection of canon law Mitre of the 6th century, sorcery was already apostasy per se, apostasy from the faith, qualified "-ketchery", since demons were suspected behind the sorcerer, evil powers, the devilish, while the miracles of Christian saints were of course always manifestations of the good, the divine.

In the early Middle Ages, the libri poenitentiales, the books of the church, the Poenitentiale Bobiense, Poenitentiale Burgundense, Floriacense, Hu&rtense, Vindobonense, Merseburgense etc. took action against magicians and fortune tellers, diviners and bird interpreters as well as other competitors.

For example, "whoever has fallen in love through sorcery shall atone for one year, namely one year if he is a layman or cleric, three years if he is a deacon, five years if he is a priest, two of which are over bread and water. Anyone who asks magicians for advice is to serve two years, anyone who speaks magic or devilish songs about bread and herbs two years. Fortune-tellers and fowlers are to serve three years on bread and water, sorcerers and weather forecasters five or seven years, three of them on bread and water. Three years' imprisonment was imposed on anyone who "went for a walk with a little goat or an old woman on the first of January". Likewise, three years are imposed on a woman who "mixes her husband's juice into her food in order to win his greater love".

win-. A murder by means of sorcery is atoned for by seven years' penance.'°

Of course, the worst punishments were avoided. Indeed, at a synod convened by him, Charles "the Great" imposed the death penalty on anyone who, "blinded by the devil, believes after the manner of the pagans that a man or woman is a witch or a witch and ... burn him or her". And in 7 9 8oo the
Synod of Reisbach, Diocese of Freising, that sorcerers, wis-
sager, weather-maker -would be detained with the most careful examination, but -that they may not lose their lives, but be kept in prison until they vow by God's inspiration to repent of their sins'-.

Nor is there any mention of capital punishment in the -Canon Episcopi - which was mentioned more frequently in the Middle Ages and included by Regino von Prüm (V Register) qo6 in his collection of synodal resolutions. According to this, people who engage in the art of sorcery and fortune-telling invented by the devil should be expelled from their parishes with shame and disgrace. Witches' flights and witches' Sabbaths, nocturnal rides with Diana through the air were nothing but pagan delusions, the work of demons."

THE LITTLE I N E U i'4 D GRO SS E K I **RCHEi'4 LJ CH TER** G **LAU BTEN**

However, in the course of the later Middle Ages, demonic delusions and magic hauntings became more and more silly and distasteful in the minds of even leading Christians. As in many matters of faith, the Church changed its attitude towards witches, almost turning it on its head. Whereas from antiquity to the High Middle Ages it regarded all the delusions in this regard as unreal, as pagan nonsense that it fought against, on the threshold of the late Middle Ages it passed them off as reality, as terrible reality.

What nonsense they tell the world about the work of the demo-
I am merely s u g g e s t i n g an example here, pars pro toto, of the -Dialogus magnus visionum atque miraculorum- by Caesarius of Heisterbach from the early i 3rd century.

The Cistercian monk, who soon became magister novitiorum and prior, w a s both important and popular in medieval preaching literature. He was one of the most popular exemplary writers, and his detailed studies served both as dogmatic and moral instruction for the monks and as sermon models for priests' magnificent illustrations of the Christian spirit of the time.

At first, however, Caesarius clearly h a d no desire for monastic life. Only when his future abbot gave him the
-The "glorious" story of Clairvaux, where once at harvest time the brothers were mowing in the valley, the Holy Mother of God, St. Anne, their mother, and St. Mary Magdalene came down from the mountain, descending into the valley in great splendor, wiping away the sweat of the monks, smiling with their sleeves and wafting cooling to them .... .", only then, yes, there was no stopping the man who had been called, Caesarius was "so shaken" that he slipped into his habit and, highly learned as he was, t o l d one fabulous story after another, hundreds of them.

For example, of a Cistercian abbot "who had died and revived"; of an image of Mary "that was sweating"; of the Blessed Mother replacing a clergyman's cut tongue with a new one {whereupon he cries out with a bright voice: -Hail dii Mary, rich in graces, and so on ... - and all the brothers *of* Cluny witnessed the miracle).

Above all, however, the worldly-wise Cistercian reports again and again how devils and demons wreak their terror, how they hunt a clergyman's kebab, seduce a priest's daughter, how a lecherous spirit sleeps with a woman for years, and this with her husband in the same bed. Caesarius also reports that St. Bernard freed a woman from an incubus; that a devil dwelt in a cleric; that a demon confessed; that the entrails of a hen were transformed into a toad and other such astonishing things.

more. The author naturally relies on his own experiences as well as on the most trustworthy witnesses of his specimens, such as the monk Gerhard - formerly "5cholastikus in Bonn", the monk Gerhard - once a canon in Regensburg, the abbot Daniel von Schönau. Or he affirms: - Our subpri- or Gerlach reliably testifies to this." -A pious abbot of our order has often told me this; an abbot of the Cistercian order, a man of great seriousness, told me this." I got this from someone who was there and witnessed it.

So there is no doubt about the authenticity of what is reported - and everything is so wonderful and worth knowing that it still b r i n g s the age of the Reformation to new validity (Wagner).

In the i 3rd century, according to Leibniz the stupidest in the history of the world, the great heretic hunter Pope Gregory also spread the word.

IX (VII z3 i ff.!) the most ludicrous. In his bull Vox in Rama - VOIR I). June 1133, he reports on the devil cult in Germany: -When a newcomer is admitted and first enters the assembly of those named, a frog first appears to him, which some call a toad. They give it a disgraceful smack on the backside, others on the mouth, pulling the animal's tongue and saliva into its mouth. It sometimes appears in natural size, sometimes as big as a duck or a goose, but mostly it is the size of an oven.

Some time later, after they had also dined, the governor of Christ's world instructs, "a black tomcat the size of a medium-sized dog steps out backwards with its tail raised. The newcomer kisses him on the rump, then the master of the assembly and after him all the others in turn . .. Then the lights are extinguished and the most atrocious fornication is indulged in regardless of kinship. If there are more men than women, the men satisfy the shameful lust among themselves, and the women do the same among themselves.

No wound; it also haunts the mind of Thomas Aquinas, the saint and Doctor of the Church who is considered one of the greatest philosophers, whose Summa theologiae was published during the Council of Trent.

lying next to the Bible on the altar, even today as a
-the deepest, best organized and most Catholic work of the ecclesiastical tradition (Lexikon des Mittelalters, 1997).

St. Thomas, who, among other things, drew on certain notions of devils and magic from Augustine, of course not only advocated the belief in Satan, but also other crude claims, above all the doctrine of devil worship, which was disastrous due to his authority. In the "Summa" of the Doctor ecclesiae, of whom Pope Leo XIII wrote in the late iq. century wrote, "Like the sun, he has filled the world with the splendor of his teaching":

-If children are born from the sexual intercourse of devils with men, they are not born from the seed of the devil or of the human body he has assumed, but from the seed which the devil has procured from another man for this purpose. The same devil who commits sexual intercourse as a woman with a marine can also commit sexual intercourse as a marine with a woman." {When translating the "Summa" into German, the translator, the Dominican Zeslaus Maria Schneider, deliberately omitted this passage - but assures us in the preface that the *"whole complete* text" is available).

The great Doctor of the Church now polemicized against those who claimed that delusions of devils and demons were nothing but the superstition of the ignorant, since there was no such thing as magic except in the imagination of the people. And if even Gregory VII had protested to the Danish king Harald io8o that old women and priests were barbarically killed as the cause of diseases and storms and thus only increased the wrath of God, who punished people through these catastrophes, Thomas, the "angelic doctor", now taught that demons really existed and, with God's "permission", accomplished the most fantastic things, for example the movement of the human body over great distances. The purity of their nature enables them to do many things that we are unable to do, and there are people who cause them to do so to do that, which is why they are also called pests.

The extremely superstitious man, who is constantly surrounded by clean and clean

John XXII felt threatened by assassinations by means of wax images and poison(474 .) - he canonized Thomas! - condemned sorcery in two bulls in the early century;•4

In the bull - Super specula - he publishes a "for eternal

The "decree" in force at the time, according to which all those who go so astray that they enter into an alliance with hell are ipso facto subject to excommunication. Furthermore, confiscation of property and the other

The penalties for heretics are imposed by their competent judges ..." Similarly,•4i7 Eugene IV (pp. zz¢ff.) takes action against those who worship the devil, conclude treaties with him, make agreements with

magical tricks cause diseases and thunderstorms.'- The decisive factor was that witchcraft was gradually being separated

The devil's pact alone did not make a sorcerer a "heretic" or a witch a "heretic". The devil's pakr alone did not make a sorcerer or a witch a "heretic". There had to be an element of terrorism, of conspiracy, of organized crime, so to speak. That is why the church turned the servants of the demons into soldiers, the devil's army, the -syriagogue of Satan- with criminal gatherings at the -witches' Sabbath".

At these meetings, the reprobates worshipped the Incarnate One, danced perversely, dined at midnight, enjoyed delicacies such as toads, hearts and the flesh of unbaptized children before indulging in wild orgies with the devils and each other. The accusation of homosexuality became a commonplace in the witch trials, and the formula "vir cum viris- and -femina cum feminis" became customary. Finally, a "black mass" was celebrated at the "witches' Sabbath", a blasphemous imitation of Christian worship, with Satan himself celebrating, spitting on the holy cross and kicking it with his feet. This and many other spawns of madness, inflicted and tortured out of the unfortunate victims in terrible ordeals, were passed on to the church *people by* the clergy and inquisitors, and now the witches could be dealt with like "heretics" and burned individually or in heaps.

" BURN^ THE HO UB ET ABS LA HN
" T H E WI LD EI'4 TI ER FOR W O RD " .
• T H E CO RRAN G E O F T H E I N I T IATIVE WAS 2U N T
H E M O S T A L L A B I L I T Y ^

The first Christian emperor, Constantine 1, who in the4 . century, who himself consulted intestinal showers and astrologers, who also
The Roman Empire, which permitted healing and weather spells by law, also penalized the administration of - love potions - with exile and confiscation of goods, and even, in the event of death, with being torn apart by wild animals or crucifixion (I a68). Constantine also discriminated against fortune-telling, which had previously been permitted. And while the pagan emperor Diocletian l- 4-Joy} burnt harmful magicians alive but l e f t benevolent magicians scot-free, since Constantine's son Constantius II {337"36i all magic, black and white, was punishable by death."

In the early Middle Ages there had apparently only been very isolated persecutions and executions or lynchings of sowers and witches, for example under the Merovingians around 58o by the horrific Frankish queen Fredeguride (cf. IV i i8 ff.!) in Paris. Or after the great death of cattle in the year 8io. Likewise at the sudden death of King Arnulf in *8 99.* Anno ioqo three harvest witches {perditrices frugum) were burned at Freising, r ii 5 in Graz thirty women in one day (concrematae sunt tri- ginta mulieres in Greez una die).

There were certainly more victims of Christian witchcraft in these early centuries than the paucity of tradition would suggest, especially as most cases of lynching, for example in the Alps and Scandinavia, were apparently not recorded. According to one estimate, half of all victims in Poland and the Ukraine perished in this way. It is remarkable that under Turkish rule in Hungary, witchcraft accusations were not admitted and tried in Turkish courts. Bishops and secular authorities sometimes defended themselves against the persecutors, but gradually church and state also cooperated against sorcerers and witches.

Thus the first German prose work, the -Sachsenspie- gel-, Eike von Repgow's famous record of Saxon law u• >*5: - Swelk cristen man ungeloubich ist oder mit zou-
or with poisoning, and that is why the
one should burn uph der hurt." And also according to the 13th century "Schwabenspiegel" (Swabian Mirror), which is widespread from Switzerland to the German Order, sorcerers or devil-may-callers, es -si wip or man, ... burn them or burn whoever the rihtaer wants dead, who is even worse ..., and all those who are wizzen and verswigent or who are ratent or lerent, who are more guarded than is right, shall be stripped of their houbet." Both legal sources were soon regarded as imperial law, and the "Schwabenspiegel" is even frequently titled "-kayserlich Rechtsbuch" or similar in the manuscripts. And around the middle of the i 5th century
The magicians are also to be judged according to the
{maleficos} -those who -do such forbidden things ... shall have their hoods cut off", those who -bend and bend the women's coziness to love, begird and unchastely ... shall be thrown to the wild animals ... or perhaps killed with a sword".'-

On the whole, however, the secular authorities kept a low profile, and the female judiciary, with the exception of cases of damage control, rarely intervened throughout the Middle Ages. -The initiative initially lay with the ecclesiastical courts, especially the inquisitors (Trusen}. Witchcraft fell under their jurisdiction, since all kinds of divination and magic arts, all black magic, were subsumed under the term heresy and the devil's pact, the devil's booing, the witchcraft flight and witchcraft sabbath, the ritual worship of the devil were understood as apostasy, satanic counter-church, as a conscious departure from God.

The transition from the "heretic" to the witch inquisition took place in the course of the i 3rd century, in the second half of which there were still few witch trials. A hundred years later, however, they increased in southern France, northern Spain, southern Germany and above all in the upper Italian Alpine valleys (Val Tellina, Valcamonica, etc.), as well as in Switzerland and Fribourg,

Neuchâtel, in the dioceses of Lausanne, Geneva and Sion, not to mention Valais, where, according to the contemporary Lucerne chronicler Johann Fründs, the Doiuinikan inquisitor Uldry de Torrenté was already taking action against the "heretics of the witches" and burning two hundred people in a year and a half. {In Lucerne, the Schwyzerdütsch term "-hexerye" appears for the first time in a case against **a** certain Gögler). And if John **XXII**'s disastrous edict against sorcery had already paved the way for large-scale pogroms, Innocent VIII's infamous edict paved the way even more so."

"**HEXES** B U N D " HEXEßlHAhIM ER ^E R LE UC HTEN DI E NzU2R IT

One of the many inquisitors of those days was the Dominican Heinrich Institoris (Kramer), born around ntyo in the Alsatian imperial city of Schlettstadt. Active as a persecutor of witches since iqyo, the Dr, theol. scMieBlich was appointed inquisitor for the whole of Germany, but met with such strong resistance that he traveled to Rome to secure the assistance of the Holy Father.

Pope Innocent VIII {p. zgi ff.) } also did not hesitate, on y. December iJ8q in the bull "Summis desiderantes affectibus", the famous bull on witches, to warn the world to enlighten Christianity, compelled solely by -Our Divine Intercession-, urged by -the highest desire ...as the care of our pastoral office requires, that the Catholic faith may be increased and flourish everywhere in our times, and that all heretical malice may be driven far away from the hearts of the faithful ..."

The Holy Father seems to b e appalled, for it has recently come to our ears, not without great vexation, that in some parts of Upper Germany, as well as in the German, Roman, Trier, Saltzburg (and Bremer) d i o c e s e s , cities, countries, towns and dioceses, very many persons of both sexes have lost their own happiness.

and apostatizing from the Catholic faith, make mischief with those devils who mingle with them as men or women, and with their &and other abominable superstitions and magical transgressions, vices and crimes, the births of women, the young of animals, the fruits of the earth, the grapes and the fruit of trees, as well as men, women, beasts, cattle, and other different kinds of animals, also the vineyards, orchards, meadows, pastures, cereals, grain and other fruits of the earth, spoil, suffocate and perish ... -"

In the bull, the pope commissions the Professores Theologiae, his -beloved sons - Henricus Institoris and Jacobus Sprengen as well as his -beloved son Johannes Gremper-, a clergyman of the diocese of Constance, who accompanies them as a notary, to combat all the many harmful examples and annoyances, the numerous recklessnesses, sins, vices - for it is no coincidence that he is accused of "a great good nature", according to theologian and church historian Wilhelm NeuB, theologian and church historian Wilhelm NeuB, "a great good-naturedness" - commands that his assistants -against all and every person, of whatever rank and preference they may be, carry out this office of faQiiisition, and that the persons themselves, whom they have found guilty of the reported crimes, are to be punished according to their crime, imprisoned, punished in body and property". Finally, the Holy Father does not allow anyone . ... to transgress this leaf of Our decree, extension, authorization and command, or to act contrary to it out of audacious boldness. But if anyone would venture to do so, let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and His Holy Apostles Peter and Paul."

It sheds light on the perverse morality of the Catholic Church, as the Jesuit Ludwig Freiherr von Hertling wrote in his major work, History of the Catholic Church, w h i c h was translated and published several times in the middle of the twentieth century:
"Not because of this bull, but because of his character.

weakness and the offense he caused, Innocent belongs to the ranks of popes who have dishonored the chair of Peter.- Not the expropriation, torture, burning - mostly alive - of innocent people, which has continued for centuries, is shameful, shameful is the sexual "sin", the violation of celibacy.'°.

Equipped with apostolic authority, Heinrich Institoris tested its effect in Tyrol on his return journey•4 J . For weeks, he incited the people from the pulpit so that

a woman says to his face, who was supposed to preach the word of God: - You preach nothing other than against the witches." In Innsbruck, he brutally took action against a large group of people, mostly women, who had been handed over to him, among other things for carrying on, taking milk from cows, refusing any defense during the trial, systematically distorting testimony, insinuating crimes that no witness had brought forward, not shying away from blatantly lying and having them tortured.

Although the proceedings took place before an ecclesiastical court (including four Dominicans), the trial collapsed as null and void and the defendants were released. The bishop of

Brixen, Georg Golser, who had recommended the Pope's man in writing to the diocesan clergy on July•3. , now wrote: Institoris had -previously been inquisitor to many popes, on time

but he seems to have become childish out of old age; he really seems to be racing. What the inquisitor has done is most indecent," and advised him to "remove himself, the sooner the better." Citizens, clergy, nobility, everything was against the witch hunter of his holiness, and the government of the county of Tyrol is said to have never again allowed a witch hunt."

The Pope's embarrassing debut happened at the same time as the fnquisitor of Como, - our colleague", as it says in the "Hexenhammer- heifit, sinn Zeitraum *eines* J-hres, - 4 5. 4 - Hexen v e r b r e n - nen". Possibly spurred on by this, but by no means released

Couraged by the Innsbruck fiasco, which even the bull from Rome had not prevented, the witch hunters now sought a more effective proćedere, a resounding propaganda weapon, and the "Malleus maleficarum", later "Hexen-

hammer". The thick commentary on the Bull of the Witches fully justified the trust placed in it by its authors, broke the initial resistance of some princes and bishops and had a devastating effect for centuries.

This is probably mainly because the writers supported their monstrosities with countless {literally or indirectly used) church texts, not only now and t h e n , but hundreds o f times, often several times on each page, whereby the most important authors, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, also seem to b e the most frequent. The fact that the authors garnish their often erudite, ghastly hum with an abundance of cases, episodes and stories, which often make all the pearls of Caesarius von Heisterbach pale in comparison, has certainly not harmed the publicity of the whole.

Moreover, they were clever enough t o obtain an up-to-date scientific report from the then famous theological faculty of Cologne, but this did not t u r n o u t to their satisfaction, which is why they forged a second one and added it to the volume as a foreword. They also forged notarial documents, just as Heinrich Institoris narrowly escaped arrest for embezzlement."

Basically, the whole thing revolves solely around proving that the witches really are witches, because if they are not, the witch hunters themselves are the murderers. And since many people at the time, including clergymen, still considered the existence of witches to be an absurdity, a figment of the imagination, the "Hexenhammer" fights the old opinion with penetrating doggedness ... that witchcraft is nothing real, but exists in people's opinions - and understandably teaches: "The greatest witchcraft is when you don't believe in witchcraft."

But what gave the witch hunters and exterminators their certainty, always assuming that they acted bona fide? Well, simply -the teacher's experience, which, after the witches' own confessions and the outrages they have committed, has made us so certain that we can no longer refrain from the Inquisition without endangering our own salvation."

Just as many theologians - and not only those of the Middle Ages - repeatedly dealt with sexuality in depth, so too did our hunters.

For example, they ventilate how the witches use the power of procreation
inhibit; how they witch away the male limbs (penes) (for they can - truly and truly- witch them away). One considers whether the incubus always visits the witch with the seed; whether he prefers to do it at one time rather than another; Whether the incubi and succubi are visible to the bystanders as they are to the witch - the experts know "that witches have often been seen lying on their backs in the field or in the forest, exposed at the vulva, working with their arms and thighs in the manner of those unflattering witches, while the incubi were invisible to the bystanders. At the end of the act, a black vapor in the shape of a man might rise into the air from the witch, but this was only very rarely observed."

It is discussed in detail: - Whether humans can be created by incubi and succubi". Or: "By which demons such things, namely the incubate and succubate, are perpetrated". And re-sumes therein, among other things: -It is optional that the procreation of man is the act of a living body. But if it is asserted that demons cannot give life, because it flows formally from the soul, it is again true, but only because it flows materially from the seed, and the demon as incubus, with God's permission, can put it in through coitus, not as separated from himself, but through the seed of some man taken for that purpose, as the Holy *Doctor* - that is Thomas Aquinas - "says in the first part, qu. 5 i, art. 3, so that the demon, which is succubus in the man, becomes incubus in the woman, just as they also use other semen for the procreation of other things, as *Augustine* says in De trin. 3.

Of course, it could be, if you spin the highly criminal
That in place of the succubus another of him felt the seed, and in place of the other demon made himself an incubus, and for a threefold reason- A demon

The demon who is sent to a woman could receive the seed from a demon who is sent to a man, so that each one of them would be commissioned by the prince of the demons to practice taming by assigning an angel to each one of them, even by the wicked, be it because of the evilness of the act, from which an individual demon shrinks back (for it will become apparent in the following question that certain demons shrink back from performing certain acts and misdeeds because of their higher ranking), or because he invisibly places his seed, i.e. the incubus, in the place of the man's seed. i.e. which he received as an incubus, t o the woman, in that he insinuates himself. "*3

Because even if it's madness, there's a method to it.

But the witch is above all the woman. For the authors, this is rock-solid and needs no proof "since, apart from the testimony of writings and credible men, experience itself makes this credible." Experience, namely, that women are deficient in all powers, of the soul as well as of the body, that adultery, fornication, etc. are found among the rest, that everything is

• is insatiable-, "Everything ... happens out of carnal desire-, the opening of the womb -never speaks: It is enough"; -that almost all the kingdoms of the earth have been destroyed by women-, that they

-kill because they empty the purse, rob the crow and force God to despise-; that woman -always deceives-, -is by nature a liar-, "only an imperfect animal ... ---

And all this and more is of course confirmed by Holy Scripture and the sayings of the Holy Fathers of the Church: "Small is every malice against the malice of woman." - "A beautiful and sexless woman is like a golden hoop in the nose of a sow." - It is not pious to marry. What is woman but the enemy of friendship, an inescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable misfortune, a d o m e s t i c danger ...- etc.*-

However, the woman is not only a domestic danger, she is also a religious one, as the "Hexenhammer" (witches' hammer) already proves in the original Eva, "von Namr geringer Glauben" (of lesser faith); which, moreover, is also taught by the etymology of the word for woman - the word Jennie näm-

lich comes from /e and *minus* {fe = fides, faith, minus = less, so femina = who has less faith) ... So the woman is scMecht by nature, since she is quicker to doubt faith, also quicker to deny faith, which is the basis of witchcraft.""

Now there is one group of women that the authors of the "Hexenhammers" hold dearer than any other: midwives. It is astonishing that the inquisitors' fanaticism and persecution targeted these women in particular. They can hardly be maligned enough.)a, it is simply claimed: "No one harms the Catholic faith more than midwives.

How do such extraordinary accusations come about? Certainly, the witch midwives slurp the blood of killed boys, they devour children, they cook their own and devour them, they produce miscarriages or sacrifice just-born children - your prince of demons, i.e. Lucifei; and all demons, over the kitchen fire - And there is no need for "arguments for this either, again - the clearest indications and tests - are available, everything is again - proven clearer than the light.- Thus a witch midwife in the diocese of Strasbourg had, according to her own confession, "murdered children without number" and another burnt woman from the diocese of Basel confessed to having "killed more than forty children in such a way that as soon as they emerged from the womb, she stuck a needle into them". the head through the vagina into the brain **.

But all this hardly differs from the otherwise reported exorbitant atrocities of this collection, is hardly sufficient to explain to us why nobody does more harm to the Catholic faith than the midwives, the - witch midwives.

However, two Germans, Gunnar Heinsohn and Otro Steiger, a humanities scholar and an economist, have now provided an answer to this very question in their sensational work "Die Ver- nichtung der weisen Frauen" (The Persecution of Wise Women) with the central thesis: - The goal of the witch hunts of the early modern period is the elimination of birth control.-

Heirtsohri/Steiger start from the population catastrophe of the - 4 century, the occidental food crises, lack of

famines, especially from the great plague; the colossal shrinkage of the European populationSheep (after slow
increase between 8oo and Z3OO from around 3o to 75 million people) back to4 y million in the following century.

This, however, meant an enormous loss of labor - in England, for example, the church estates lost half of their male farmers for more than twenty years during the Great Plague. This in turn meant that the huge estates could no longer be farmed profitably enough, but the Catholic Church had by far the largest landholdings¡ consequently, it also had the greatest interest in "re-population", which drove it to fight against contraception, abortion and infanticide, which meant that above all the bearer of contraceptive knowledge, the midwife, had to be eradicated. Thus, in the late Middle Ages, a rather sudden and increased
the witch burnings, coordiflier -4 g4 Innocent VIII. Witches' Bull - the suppression of birth control for the whole of Catholic Europe -, the - Witches' Hammer - becomes the "Birth Control Convention".
trollhammer .

The view of the two researchers is significant, their disqualification of opponents almost a literary genufi, in short, the book, which is as thorough as it is clear, is anything but unserious, as adventurous - even if the informative work does not invalidate other morives of witchcraft persecution, even if the population policy calculation, the pronounced concentration on the
- It is not always the primary motive for the pogroms, because it was certainly not only sobriety and cynical rationality that tipped the scales. A more or less high proportion of pseu- doreligious fanaticism, superstitious clerical hysteria and
-The problem is not only one of material greed (not only in the long term). And however the various factors of the problem may be assessed, behind all the horrendous masses there is undoubtedly morality, especially the sexual morality of the church, as the basis and perpetual impetus.

i o. CHAPTER

FROM ALEXANDER VI. (-4 9*5 3) TO LEO X. (i y x J-i y zi)

-His way of life was dissolute. He knew neither shame nor sincerity, faith nor religion. Moreover, he was dominated by an insatiable greed, a boundless ambition and a burning passion to fleece his numerous children, who thoughtlessly used the most shy means to carry out his shameful deeds.' - The Fiorentine historian Francesco Guicciardini on Pope Alexander VI.

-..., a happy father of no less than twelve children, male and female.
Ferdinand Cregorovius on Pope Pius III'.

• Imbued with the purity of his intentions and the elevation of his position, he constantly pursued his hoclt goals."
Ludwig von Pastor on Pope Julius II'.

" ... he fulfills his religious obligations conscientiously, but he wants to live and enjoy life.
The Venetian ambassador Marco Minio on Pope Leo X*

It is a strange and irritating phenomenon - but one that seems to irritate only a few, especially among Catholic theologians and historians - that the martyrdom of thousands, of hundreds of thousands of innocently tortured men and women, often murdered in the most abominable way, people of all ages, seems to bother them far less than the sexually disreputable life of a pope, especially that of Alexander VI.

Certainly, Alexander also occasionally waged or allowed a major war. But how rare, and how almost modest, it seems next to all the monstrous slaughter of so many of his predecessors and successors who were not erotomaniacs, who were not considered immortal stains of shame.

Criminal history is hardly the place to collect a pope's plus points, but Borgia's punctuality, his legal and birocratic qualities, his outstanding conduct in office as vice-chancellor, the world-famous buildings he commissioned from Bramante, the Pieta by the young Michelangelo, completed in the year x oo, or the little-known trial he had the witch hunts Institoris and Sprengen in Strasbourg conducted.

But there are two surprising traits in him. Firstly, a certain compassion for the poor. For as immensely as he enriched himself, he was particularly sympathetic to the poor and helpless, just as the masses liked him. "For the little people, the eleven years of the Borgia pontificate were years of freedom and unabashed prosperity," writes Hans Conrad Zander. -Whatever he broke, Alexander the Sinner remained as popular among the people for the entire eleven years as he was at the time of his election."

Secondly, he was conspicuously tolerant, at least stupendously lenient towards insults to his person, no m a t t e r how bad they were. He wanted nothing to do with censorship or even the Inquisition in his surroundings. - Rome is a free city, he said on i. February z 5O2. to the Ferrarese envoy. "Here everyone can think and write what they l i k e . " The motto

However, the almost always good-humored Alexander VI, who even in his old age was looking prosperous, did not pay homage to "live and let live".

T H E H E A L T H FEM I **LIE**

Rodrigo de Borja y Borja was born around i q3o near Valencia, presumably as the illegitimate son of his -uncle", the later Pope Calixt III; his mother was a sister of Calixt (p. aö8). His -uncle- made him a cardinal in *456, at the age of twenty-five, and the next year vice-chancellor of the Holy See, an office which, exercised under four popes, brought him enormous fortune. After the Frenchman d'Estoutevil1e, he was considered the richest purple wearer, and the cardinals were among the richest in the world.

men of Europe. However, he used his immense fortune to buy the papacy - with a thousand frauds, as the Venetian envoy in Milan wrote at the time.

However, no other candidates came up, not even Giulia- no della Rovere, for the enforcement of which Genoa had deposited i oo ooo, the Hanseatic King zoo ooo ducats in a bank.

-Reliable reports know of the provision of large sums of money for the conclave from several sides (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte). Borgia threw around benefits, real estate and posts. He promised villas, towns, castles, estates, abbeys, even the abbey of Subiaco with its castles "in perpetuity". He also o f f e r e d his own magnificent palace with all its treasures, the vice-chancellor's office and, of course, money.

The future pope sent the enormously wealthy Ascanio Sforza, son of the Milanese Duke Francesco, the future pope, so it is said in

Rome, even before the conclave four mules loaded with money into Hans. As a result, Borgia received Ascanio's vote in the very first ballot and the latter, to whom he said he owed the tiara, the castle of Nepi, the bishopric of Eger, the vice-chancellorship, a priory, an abbey, etc. Only five cardinals out of a total of xy proved to be incorruptible.

At the time, the annalist of the church noted that the old church would not even have admitted him to the lowest ranks of the clergy because of his immoral life. Borgia's sectarian excesses were widely known.

According to one chronicler, he is said to have received a boy of his age, but "of low birth",

-He was beaten up - by repeatedly running his sword sheath into his stomach - because he had "made indecent speeches". But he soon left all prudery behind him, became a notorious womanizer, seduced, among others, a Spanish widow of great attraction together with her daughters, taught her, it is said, the most abominable per- versions and gave the younger three children whom he acknowledged as his own: Pedro Luis, Jerónima and Isabella; great-great-grandchildren of the latter: **Pope** Innocent X (∗ 44*i 6y y).'

A special role among the many women that the Borgia more or less fortunate, whom he attracted to him - more strongly than a magnet attracts iron - was the beautiful Rómer woman Vanozza de Catanei.

When he met the eighteen-year-old xq6 i during the Council of Man- tua, he is said to have already slept with her mother and perhaps also with her sister. But Vanozza, of whom between i'7s and•4 *, i.e. as a cardinal, he had four almost abgõt- tically beloved children and provided for them princely, was for Ian his mistress for more than two decades, which of course did not exclude other contacts. Nevertheless, when he accommodated her in Venice in consideration of the ascetic Pius IL (S. *z6'y II,}* he wrote to her, -my love, follow my example and remain chaste until that day when I will be allowed to come to you and we will merge our deep affection with endless sensuality. Until then, let no

Lips profane your charms, let no hand lift those veils that cover my supreme happiness. A little more patience, and I shall have what he, whom they called my uncle, l e f t me as an inheritance, the Chair of Peter. In the meantime, t a k e great care in the education of our children, for they are destined to rule over nations and kings."

Vanozza usually signed the letters to her daughter:
-Your happy and unhappy mother-'

You can say what you like about Alexander VI: as Pope, he surpassed all earlier and later Holy Fathers in his care for his own - without, unfortunately, having become a patron saint of a class or family in the Church to this day. After all, Ludwig von Pastor speaks of the "intrinsically noble foundation" of these relatives
and especially love of children. In addition, Borgia, a cardinal for ¡7 years, was held in high esteem by four predecessors, Pius II, Paul II, Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, and was generally regarded as one of the most capable in the College of Cardinals at the time of his elevation on August i i, -4sa.

Even beyond that, however, after almost a lifetime of heated bickering, he initially received widespread recognition and praise, not only from many Romans, who now celebrated him with almost pagan pomp, with statues, triumphal arches and altars, to such an extent that he lost consciousness from exhaustion (which, of course, for whatever reason, happened more often with him) and water was thrown in his face8. Nuremberg's Hartmann Schedel, a humanist and chronicler who obtained his doctorate in medicine in Italy and owned one of the most important private libraries of his time, also saw the newly elected man as being called, above all others, to govern and lead Saint Peter's ship, praising him full of "God's service and knowledge of all things that are fit for such high dignity and status. Blessed, therefore, is he who is endowed with so many virtues and r a i s e d to the heights of such superiority.

Alexander VI made no less than fiinf Borgia cardinals: Francesco, Lodovico, Juan Borgia, Archbishop of Valencia, Juan Borgia, Archbishop of Monreale, and Cesare, his son. -Born in 475 and destined for the ecclesiastical state, he had

On the day of his coronation, Alexander, who had already been generously endowed by Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, gave him the archbishopric of Valencia, which earned him 6,000 ducats, but before naming him cardinal - at the age of eighteen - he had him pass himself off as the legitimate son o f another man by swearing an oath of false witnesses.

His eldest sproB, Don Pedro Luic, had distinguished himself in the Moorish war. He was therefore made Duke of Gandia by the Spanish king I§8 y K and, before he died in Rome in i488, appointed his younger brother Don Juan as his heir,

Alexander's favorite son, whom he enfeoffed on y. June•s97 with the Duchy of Benevento and several cities. Although the ecclesiastical state was to lose large territories for all time, there was no change in the Carthage.

dinals' college uur little protest, since the Spaniards, including eight blood relatives of the pope, already ruled it. On June 1 *4, however, Juan was murdered. No harder blow, complained Alexander,

could have met him. We loved the Duke of Gandia more than anything in the world. We would gladly give him a papal crown to bring him back to life."

The murderer of the Duke of Gandia was probably none other than his brother Cesare; for many historians, including Ranke, this stands to reason. And now the murderer of the pope's favorite son became the pope's new favorite son, the most precious thing on earth for him, as he knew King Louis XII of France - for most historians: his evil spirit. He agreed with almost every one of his atrocities, if not beforehand, then afterwards.

Cesare, who killed his brother because he stood in his way with the Pope, also became the murderer of his brother-in-law, the Neapolitan Alfonso Duke of Bisceglie, Lucrezia's third husband, whom she loved dearly. As he did not succumb to an assassination attempt in the square, Cesare's private henchman Micheletto Co- reglia strangled the wounded man in bed, who had been carefully cared for by his wife and sister-in-law, Princess Squillace, and was also fed f o r fear of Gih.

In June i 5oz, Cesare also ordered the liquidation of Astorre Manfredi, the sixteen-year-old Astorre, who was imprisoned in

Castel Sant'Angelo.

popular lord of Faenza, together with his brother. He had Paolo Orsini strangled on i8. January i o3 Paolo Orsini and, on June 8 in Trastevere, again by Micheletto, whereby he, Cesare, secretly watched, the Pope's secretary Troche, who had been captured on the run.

However, the Borgia's preferred means of murder - like the priests in general - was poison. They poisoned prelates, bishops and cardinals in particular, but also a papal general, a French secretary, members of the Orsini and Gaetani families and other prominent or wealthy people. Cesare occasionally made detailed enquiries with his captain of the piece Lorenz Beheim, later a canon in Bamberg, about the preparation of poisons, which were added to food doses and only took effect in a month, four or six months, as desired.

At that time, Cardinal Orsini, who had once been instrumental in Alexander's elevation, was poisoned, apparently with the pontiff's consent, if he was not, as was said, the author of the poisoning. Paul II's nephew, Cardinal Michicl, whose wealth Cesare was after, was also poisoned with his consent. And in the summer of i 5o3, he is also said to have poisoned the Cardinal of Mon-Reale, Juan Borgia.'°

Not every one of these and other murders by the pope's son is undisputed. But there is no one who doubts that he would have been capable of one or the other controversial attack, a man who even stabbed the Pope's chamberlain, Alexander's favorite, under his cloak so that the Holy Father's face was covered in blood.

Lucrezia Borgia, who was born in 1885, is said, as ecclesiastical authors in particular like to emphasize, not to have been the femme fatale, "the greatest whore that ever existed in Rome", but rather to have been better than her reputation, especially in more mature years, as a princess in Ferrara, where she survived the fall of the House of Borgia, at least in the end "in the sign of religious contemplation" (Batllori).

Previously, she had served as a puppet of Borgia politics in marriages that were solely determined by the principle of opportunity. After two annulled engagements, the

Father after his election as pope, the fourteen-year-old, whose value now
-(Chamberlin), with Giovanni Sforza of the House of the Dukes of Milan and, after changing his policy, annulled this marriage in favor of {sounds cynical here) the seventeen-year-old Prince Alfonso of Bisceglie, the illegitimate
son of Alfonso II of Naples. After his assassination, Lucrezia i 5or was united in a third marriage to Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. (Which, as always, cost quite a bit. Between fifteen and twenty thousand ducats were paid for her robes alone, and ten thousand ducats each for her hats).

Everything for the family!

Of course, this also meant everything for Lucrezia. The Holy Father, who repeatedly entrusted her with the government of the Vatican during his absence, the handling of state affairs (although she was not overly intelligent - unnecessarily so), had taken her particularly deeply into his father's heart, even if the full extent of this love is controversial and the sources understandably contradict each other. According to the Catholic papal historian Seppelt, "her father and her brother Cesare had committed incest with her, b u t this cannot be proven beyond doubt. The assertion by Giovanni Sforza, her husband who was fired for alleged impotence, that the Pope wanted his daughter only for himself and had already had sexual intercourse with her on countless occasions, may have arisen from anger, may have been the result of anger and a lie, even if the intimacy of the two "was the most persistent accusation", even if Juan de Borgia, the husband of Nepi, may not have been the son of father and daughter after all.

However, are the works of Johann Burkard, the curial cecemo nienmeister, in his diary reported "tournaments" invented? Are they just - propaganda legends - ? The jumping of the mares by the Hengsie, with father and Filia applauding each other before t h e y locked themselves up together for an hour inside the palace? Or the -whore tournament-, also -chestnut-?

BaÍl", at which on October 3 i. i 5oi in the Vatican fifty of the most beautiful hookers horns - there were yoooo in the Holy City at that time - split-naked and scattered on all fours castaøies were collected in a race before the prostitutes themselves were "carnally attacked" for the edification of all the "guests"; - this time it was the gracious Lady Lucrezia, who presided next to the Pope on a podium and handed out the prizes to the visitors."

Whatever the case, it had long been clear that Alexander VI had only two great passions that were immensely agreeable to him: the satisfaction of his lust and the elevation of his own. The latter in particular determined the course of government. Alexander's policy was predominantly Italian policy, domestic policy, and this was driven by family interests.

The repeated abrupt changes of front also served his children,

At first, the pope was still in conflict with King Ferdinand 1 Ferranti, who accused him of having done nothing but harm to him since the beginning of his reign, of having thought only of his ruin. However, he then supported Naples against France, systematically providing for his clan, of which it was said that not ten papacies would be enough to satisfy him.

After Ferdinand's death on zş. Jãftučt* •494 *° , he recognized his son Alfonso II as king, and on7 May the wedding of Jofré ßorgia, the twelve- or thirteen-year-old youngest pope, was celebrated.

Jofré was married to Sanzia of Aragon, a daughter of Alforiso, who at the time crowned Cardinal Juan Borgia in Naples. Jofré received the rich principality of Squillace with go ooo ducats in annual revenues, he became Count of Coriata and governor of the kingdom. Pope's son Juan, Duke of Gandia, was named Prince of Tricarico, C o u n t of Claromonte, Count of Lauria and Count of Carinola. And the pope's son Cardinal Cesare also received rich benefits.'-

But now came the invasion of Charles VIII of France, the first of three French kings' forays into the country in twenty years.

FRaNzo s xx- **AND** TS **RKENINVAS** ION

At the beginning of September i‹s4 King Charles and his army crossed the pass at Mont Genevre and invaded Piedmont, against the will of his councillors, his commanders and his starving people, but by

Driven by a thirst for glory and stirred up by Alexander's mortal enemy, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (formerly Pope Julius 11).

As heir to the Angevins, Charles laid claim to Naples, but also proclaimed war against the Turks and the conquest of the Holy Land, as the snow-bright silk banners of his soldiers were emblazoned with the slogans 'Voluntas Dei' {Gone's Will) and -Missus a Deo- (Messenger of the Lord). The sword has come ..., it is the Lord who leads these armies," cried Savonarola, who greeted Charles as the very Christian king, an overgrown foreign conqueror of many years, whose body was small, his head misshapen and thick, his eyes large and lackluster, his nose huge, his legs spindly. Some people associate him with French flags, French 9caps; the Colonna, the Orsini - linked to the Borgia by marriage - went over to him. Florence gave him xo ooo gold florins. Occasionally, of course, as in the storming of Rapallo, all the inhabitants were massacred and even the poorest villages were plundered.

Alexander VI, who endeavored to keep the enemy from advancing, became increasingly agitated. Conscious of the office he had bought, he also feared being summoned to a council and the deposition and installation of an antipope. He sought help everywhere, especially from the hereditary enemy, Sultan Bayezid II. He also approved of the alliance between his ally Alfonso of Naples and the Turks, and wavered back and f o r t h , always at a loss, sometimes wanting to defend himself, sometimes to flee. And when the French, advised by the astrologers, i n v a d e d Rome on New Year's Eve, plundered the city, strangled J-den, destroyed the synagogue, robbed rich prelates' residences, the pope locked himself in the Castel Sant'Angelo with his bodyguard, steadfastly refused to enfeoff the king, who threatened to fire on them, but left Cesare Borgia to him as a hostage (officially Cardinal Borgia).

nallegate in the French army, from which he soon escaped again).

Alexander allowed the enemy free passage through the ecclesiastical state, had Earl, who solemnly recognized him as pope and promised to protect his rights, bestowed honours upon honours, fulfilled wish after wish, granted extra dances, reservations, favours, elevated two Frenchmen to cardinals, and finally also handed over the unfortunate Turkish prince, who died soon afterwards - from something that he was afi and that did not suit him - as Majordomus Burkhard ironically put it with restraint.

The Frenchman nevertheless overthrew several Conti castles near the Neapolitan border, but still on ecclesiastical territory, in favor of the Colonna, killed the garrison of Monte Sortino, had almost all the inhabitants of Monte San Giovanni killed and, on February 49, enthusiastically withdrew from the city.
Naples, where Alfonso II, on January few
Months before he died, fled to Sicily with his treasures, Ferrante II. had become king,

But while the foreigners, intoxicated by their victory, enjoyed the love, the wine and also contracted the "Neapolitan disease", syphilis, which spread like a plague across Europe in no time as the "morbus gallicus" (French disease) and also afflicted many members of the pope's family and his court, including Cesare Borgia, Cardinals As-canio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere, many princes were saddened by the
-exemplary happiness - of the French, their pursuit of the emperor-tum, the -world monarchy-.

Thus, on March 3 i, z qq in Venice, the Lagoon Republic, Spain, the German King Maximilian 1st, who had succeeded his father Frederick II, Lodovico il Moro of Mai- land and the Pope joined forces in the "Holy League". Alarmed, the French prince set off on his retreat with part of his army, including zooon mules laden with booty, and made his stand on the
July 6 in the undecided battle of the Taro near Fornovo by the League troops, with considerable losses, without the huge loot, glorious and poor in gains.'[4]

However, this meant that the Turkish War was also a complete washout. And things were not much different with this war a few years later.

After the death of Prince Jem, the Ottomans once again began to advance on many fronts. From north to south, they invaded Christian territory. -The dead were lying around on the roads and in the fields," was reported after an invasion of Poland •49
-All towns in the mountains and in the plain around Lviv and Przemysl to Kanczug, were plundered, burned, and after the fiends had spent some time in the country, they returned with heavy baggage.

The next year, io ooo Turkish horsemen raided the Venetian mainland from Bosnia, stabbing the people or dragging them into slavery. At the same time, the naval battle at Navarino and Lepanto on the Gulf of Corinth were lost, and a year later, in the summer of i yoo, Modon, Navarino and Koron, highly important Venetian colonies, were also lost. The few inhabitants of Modon, writes a contemporary, - were all cruelly staked down to the last man. This is how far the Christians have come as a result of the unrest in Italy! 5o far the internal strife has brought us!

But the Pope and his ßorgia clique were mainly responsible for this.
involved.

Certainly, Alexander VI occasionally recalled the Turkish danger, called on Christendom to join forces in defense, made proposals for a military campaign and for equipping a navy. He imposed a tithe on the clergy as a contribution, the cardinals, more than forty of them, were to pay a total of 3¢ **300** ducats; after all, some had incomes of i 5 ooo ducats {ZenoJ, i 8 ooo ducats {Sansoni), zo ooo ducats (Giuliano della Rovere), 3o ooo ducats (Ascanio Sforza). And, of course, there were also payoffs. Alexander also granted all the warriors of the Spanish army a full indulgence on August 3 r. August z 5oo, Alexander also gave all the warriors of the Spanish armies a full
lafi, indeed he himself equipped a crusading fleet. • 3 Galleys with a crew of zyoo men, of which he appointed Bishop Giaco- po Pesaro as commander.'-.

However, all these efforts, if there were any, were not taken very seriously.

The Fümen felt little desire, had their own plans and the general willingness to make sacrifices was greatly reduced. In France, part of the clergy openly refused to make payments. The Hungarian prelates were also conspicuously reticent. And the legate Peraudi, who had been traveling through Germany since the beginning of i yoz, found so little interest in the crusade among clergy and laity alike that he repeatedly asked the pope for his reconsideration. They mistrusted him, doubted his own seriousness for the cause and were also concerned about the whereabouts of the money.

One thing is certain: the House of Borgia, indeed every single one of its children, was more important to holiness than the entire Holy War. Paolo Capello, the Venetian envoy, noted in September i 5oo:

• The Pope is seventy years old; he grows younger every day; his worries do not last one night; he is of a cheerful temperament and does only what makes him pious¡ his only thought is to make his children great, he cares for nothing else."

even for the historian of the popes - for whom the Venetian's judgment naturally goes too far - a deep shadow falls on the Turkish question through Alexander's mafiless nepotism, through his addiction to elevating the House of ßoria. And although the star defender of the deputies, nobilitized for all his sweat, does nothing to make what the pope has done for the Turkish cause appear - to put it well - "not so insignificant", it remains true even for him that much more could have been done if Alexander VI had renounced his nepotistic policy and thought less of elevating his Cesare Borja.

But the faithfully caring father always thought of this and of well He thought of nothing else. Especially not that revolutionary from Florence who was stirring up the people and who had tried to sour him on a few years of his so pleasurable life, albeit in vain.

SAvO NARO LA

Girolamo Savonarola, born in Ferrara to a distinguished family, became a Dominican friar in Bologna in '47 after dropping out of medical school and a failed marriage to Laudomia Strozzi {early love poetry still exists). '479 novice master in Ferrara and‹49* IläCh unanimously elected prior of the Convent of St. Mark in Florence, the center of the Renaissance. •493
Alexander VI appointed him vicar-general of a separate vicarate consisting of
The Tuscan Reform Congregation, which was detached from the Lombard provincial association, took up the former stricter observance, the original religious ideal of poverty.

Savonarola, one of the most eloquent preachers of his century, who was often listened to by Botticelli and Michelangelo, advocated a religious and moral rigorism and always proceeded from three propositions: the church would be severely chastised, then renewed, and both soon.

Himself morally unaritastbaq a living example of what he taught, he condemned the corruption of the church of his time with fervent eloquence and unbridled frankness. From the cathedral pulpit he reviled it as a "shameless whore", a "public **house",**
• Brothel". -You are worse than the animals, you are a monster and an abomination." He scolded clergy and laity alike, saying that the clergy had become "books of the devil" and that the life of the Florentines had become a "way of life of pigs".

The Dominican was not only in the Middle Ages with his body still in the monk's habit, but also with his head. Holy anger, vanity, a certain mystical enthusiasm and theatrical extravagance permeated him. He believed in his visions and auditions, his face and voices. He believed himself to be a prophet, an **organ of** divine revelation communicating with angels.

Over time, he became increasingly harsh and radical, raging ever more furiously against drunkenness, short skirts, card and dice games. He recommended torturing public gamblers and piercing the tongues of blasphemers. He organized, according to his own words, the -Fest of the High

The "madness of the madmen" {maggior pazzia}, organized the -bruciamenti-, the burning of vanity items, carnival costumes, luxury clothes and musical instruments. Even "lewd and offensive books {Ii- bri lascivie e disonesti)-, as Jacopo Nardi reports, were consigned to the flames, -and all kinds of figurines and paintings". He fell upon the cult of beauty. Even Fra Bartolomeo, who probably became a Dominican under Savonarola's influence, Lorenzo di Credi and Sandro Botticelli burned their nude studies.

The preacher tore families apart. He staged a kind of invasion, roving, spying and denouncing site guards everywhere, even a fanatical "children's police force", groups of young people {"faneiulli") who, protected by adults, terrorized the Florentines, taking away card games, masks, mirrors and other household goods in raid-like raids and burning them at the stake."

However, Savonarola not only sought to direct religious, moral and social life, but also political life. He played a leading role in the upheavals in Florence, in the establishment of a democratic constitution (governo popolare), to which he admittedly also linked aristocratic principles, following the Venetian model. During the exile of the Medici, he demanded the death penalty without exception for anyone who wanted to reinstate tyranny, and everyone should be allowed to "cut tyrants to pieces" without sin, which was almost immediately made law. Savonarola made the arnometropolis the city of God, Christ the **-king** of Florence- and propagated the alliance with France and Charles VIII, the new Cyrus, the -messiah-, whom he presented as God's instrument for church reform (cf. p. 3aq ff.), which put him at odds with the papal policy, the anti-French League. And this apparently bothered Alexander far more than Savonarola's criticism of the Curia, the "Whore of Babylon", and of himself, of whom he claimed -that he was neither a Christian nor believed in the existence of God", that he was the Antichrist.

Savonarola was punished•495 with a ban on preaching, x kgS with the dismissal of his reform congregatiori and I4s7 excommunicated. He lost popularity when the Pope -498 Florence with the lnterdict

and thus also threatened the business life of the city. In April, the crowd, which had meanwhile changed its mind, overthrew S. Marco. Savo Narola was brought back to prison, his hands and feet bound, and tortured, and his trial records were falsified. "For the sake of the good cause," said one judge, "some things were left out, some things were added. And after his

- condemnation by an ecclesiastical court, he was hanged on z3. May *49 ' ' Two confreres, Domenico Buonvicini and Silvestro Maruffi, were hanged, burned, the ashes scattered in the Arno and his followers severely persecuted. Today, in memory of his 5oo. anniversary of his death { i qq 8), the proceedings for his beatification are officially opened.'-

Shortly after the Florentine scenario, Alexander abandoned his alliance with Naples, which had lost its power, and went over to France. The pope needed France's king, and France's king needed the pope.

As Duke of Ortéans, Louis XII had his cousin Joan (Jeanne de France), the overgrown daughter of Louis XI, forced upon him as his wife, as the regent expected a childless marriage and the reversion of the House of Orléans to the crown. But when

*498, after Charles VIII's sudden death, the duke as Louis XII.

himself ascended the throne, he demanded a divorce so that he could marry the queen dowager Anne of Brittany. The pope annulled the marriage because the new king promised to support Cesare. Joan was cast out, became the founder of a religious order and was canonized (feast of 4 February). And Cesare became Duke of Valence and was married to Charlotte d'Albret, the seventeen-year-old sister of the King of Navarre, as Princess Carlotta of Naples, who was initially promised to him and educated at the French court, resolutely refused to take a - peacock and son of a priest- as her husband.

Of course, when he moved to France in the fall of i¢q8, resplendent, close as an oriental despot - with hundreds of mules, with goods valued at soo ooo ducats, mostly shamelessly extorted by the Curia - he had already laid down his hat and thus renounced a pension of 35 ooo gold florins; as duke in Italy, he promised himself more.

X. THREE ROMACN WARS A N D T H E S E EU LVER

Cesare, a3 years old at the time, probably more power-hungry than sensual, charming like his sister, cunning and grasping at the same time, less brave than treacherous, cruel, in short, as cunning as he was cruel, had calculated correctly.

Because now everything happened in quick succession.

On February *9,* i¢qq Louis XII concluded an alliance with Venice for the division of Milan, and after Gesare had obtained the French princess, the pope changed sides completely: "We are on the side of the French king because he loves Our Cesare; the Milanese dynasty must be destroyed." When he took Milan in September, Alexander, seeing that his son's great time had now come, supported the subjugation of the ecclesiastical state. He d e p o s e d the princes of Romagna because of outstanding payments, declared them deprived of their fiefs and first renounced the Gaetani, whose head, Giacomo, he had deceitfully lured to Rome and poisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo in the summer of i 5oo, while Gesare's henchmen killed Bernardino Gaetani at Sermoneta and now Alexander VI received all the estates of the dynasty, for which Boniface VIII had once made such efforts (VII3 8z ff.!)."

In the meantime, in November -4S 9 Gesare's first Romagna
The French army began its campaign with its own troops, a few thousand Swiss soldiers from the French king and the help of4s oo Milanese ducats lent to the Apostolic Chamber. Imola fell, Forlf fell,
The enthusiastic pope wept and laughed at the same time. During pompous carnival and joyous celebrations, he made the fratricide, who had possibly also poisoned Cardinal Juan Borgia, his annoying cousin, in St. Peter's, the baron of the church, the successor of his victim, the Duke of Gandia, and awarded him the golden rose.

The Year of Salvation z 5oo, which saw Nicolaus Copernicus, probably also Matthias Grünewald among the pilgrims and on Easter Sunday in front of St. Peter zoo ooo people on their knees before the blessing Alexander Vl, filled his coffers as well as

the incoming tithe for the Turkish war and the more than one hundred thousand ducats that a crowd of newly appointed cardinals handed over to Cesare so that he could, as he coldly confessed, wage his next war.

In the fall of i 5oo, he opened the second Romagna campaign with ten thousand men, including Orsini, Saveĺli and Vitellozzo Vitelli. He took Pesaro, Rimini, Faenza, and Alexander, who must have been a tearjerker again, appointed his son Duke of Romagna, the largest province of the Papal States, which would eventually be secularized, unchallenged by the College of Cardinals, not coincidentally by the Spaniards, and pass into the hands of the Borgia family, becoming their hereditary principality, like the whole of central Italy in the end.

Around the same time, France and Spain formed a coalition to seize the Kingdom of Naples. Ferdinand of Spain was to take Calabria and Apulia as well as the title of duke, Louis XII was to become King of Naples. Louis XII was to become King of Naples and rule over the Terra di La Voro and Abruzzo. Gregorovius mentions the secret treaty that was signed on ii. Gregorovius called the secret treaty concluded between the Most Christian and the Catholic King in Granada on November ii, i 5oo, "one of the most shameful documents of cabinet politics". Moreover, this was supposed to b e t h e prelude to a crusade against the Crescent.

The pope gave his blessing. He d e p o s e d Federico of Naples, the blameless king beloved by his subjects, hoping to hunt down the two powerful robbers, who had to swear an oath of allegiance to him, sooner rather than later and then be the laughing third party.

He also took advantage of the situation while the troops of the French and Cesares were finally forcing the downfall of the Neapolitan dynasty of Aragón. In the summer of i 5oi, he respected the Colonna and Savelli and seized their possessions, including all the lands of the Gaetani, the barons of Pojano and Magenza and other families, and made two duchies out of them: a duchy of Sermoneta for Lucrezia and Alfonso's two-year-old son Rodrigo¡ and a duchy of Nepi for his own three-year-old son,

with Giulia Farnese, whom he passed off as the natural son of Cesare in a bull of i. September i Aoi as the natural son of Cesare and only in a second bull of the same day did he legitimize him as his son, an "undoubtedly genuine document".

The fifty-eight-year-old cardinal had taken Giulia Farnese as his lover at the age of five or ten. Giulia {La Bella), also known as - concubina papae - the bride of Christie and the "Pope's whore", became known throughout Italy and beyond. Alexander had her immortalized in a portrait of the Madonna, had several children with her and, in order to be more certain of the young beauty, married her nineteen-year-old brother Alessandro Farnese, In order to be more sure of the young beauty, he made her nineteen-year-old brother Alessandro Farnese a cardinal, which earned him the nickname "Cardinal Petticoat", "Cardinal of the Gorinella"; He later became Pope Paul III.-[4] The Borgia now owned almost the entire Papal States. And after feverishly arming himself and purchasing Neapolitan artillery, Cesare continued his raid in Romagna in the summer of i you. With great cunning, he took possession of Urbino, where he not only had part of the precious library from Federico's palace confiscated, but also other treasures worth around i yo ooo ducats. Just as treacherously, he took Cameri- no, which was given to the young Juan Borgia, and now called himself:

• Cesare ßorgia of France, by the grace of God Duke of Romagna and of Valence and Clrbino, Prince of Andria, Lord of Piombino, Gonfaloniere and Captain General of the Holy Roman Church."

People lay in the dust before the demon for miles around. He ruled in the Ro- magna and over parts of the Marche and Umbria. Leonardo da Vinci was in his service, even his own court poet sang his praises. War and culture all cost money, and the Borgia provided it.

At the time, they poisoned the wealthy Cardinal Giambatrista Ferrari, who himself, as Datar, as -Cerberus of the Curia- had hoarded the all-dominant mammon for his holiness, apparently without forgetting himself. "The pope," reported the Venetian messenger Giustiniani, "always does things in such a way that he fattens his cardinals before poisoning them so that their possessions fall to him.

In the course of the Romagna War, Cesare himself almost became the victim of a conspiracy, an outrage by his condottieri, for they feared, wrote Gianpaolo, the lord of Peru, in October iyoz, -to be devoured one by one by the dragon.- Only the support of France and his own cunning, which was always at his disposal, saved him. And when he had ensnared his captains and lured them into a trap at Sinigaglia - that was when he met Niccolò Machiavelli, who made the inscrutable duke, who spoke little but acted, the model of his all principe - he took his revenge on them. In a shameful breach of his word, he immediately had Vitellozzo Vitelli and Oliverotto of Fer- mo strangled, sitting back to back. A little later, Duke Francesco of Gravina and Paul Orsini, whose son Fabio had married Hieronyma Borgia, a sister of Cardinal John Borgia, only a few years earlier, were also strangled."

In Rome, the pope was determined to overthrow the Orsini, after he had enjoyed their services. He lured Cardinal Orsini to the Vatican, had him arrested and thrown into Castel Sant'Angelo, where, robbed of his palace and all his treasures, he died of Borgia poison on February, just a few weeks before Cardinal Giovanni Michiel, the particularly wealthy nephew of Paul II, also died there, Michiel, the particularly wealthy nephew of Paul II, succumbed to the Borgia's famous "white powder", usually CantareÍla, an arsenic preparation, whereupon his property worth more than i Jo ooo ducats was also confiscated. The pope had once made great promises to the cardinals, especially Orsini, when he was elected, and their wealth undoubtedly increased under the Borgia, especially as, according to the Venetian ambassador Giustiniani, they fattened their victims; -They stuffed the more powerful of the cardinals with ever richer sins, for which they received enormous sums of money, and then disposed of them with a certain "white powder".

Also Rinaldo Orsini, Archbishop of Florence, Proronotary Orsini and others were arrested at the time and could only save their lives by surrendering their castles. When the leaders of the Orsini rose up in alliance with the Savelli, some of the Colonna and the rest of the barons, swearing revenge, the pope publicly recommended

even the use of artillery, also created eighty new curia offices, each of which soldC5 flf* 760 ducats, also created other well-funded cardinals. And after most of the opponents had been
Alexander was already considering making Cesare king of the Romagna and the Marches.

This is where the two celebrants' "lucky streak" came to an abrupt end.

They suddenly fell seriously ill at the same time; the pope died. Whether from malaria or poison remains to be seen. The historian of the popes makes every effort to grant Alexander - when a higher hand intervened, when God's patience was exhausted - a completely natural end.

(It would be pleasurable to show how von Pastor himself repeatedly defends Alexander VI in hundreds, no, in hundreds of places, with minor and major excuses, with sham reasons, word maneuvers, glosses over the circumstances, even if he not so rarely mentions Alexander's -disregard for the duties imposed on him, which his high dignity imposed on him-, speaks of -many reprehensible inclinations and aspirations-, states -serious moral flaws-, when he emphasizes -in small print -that the Borja Pope **Lil** eiifen;t lived unsitrarily- etc. For this almost always happens only briefly, almost always only in passing, almost always only in very general, abstract terms; he is as wary of concrete details as the devil is of holy water! J-'

Pastor wastes page after page on the "proof" of a
natural death of the pope. Alexander died in the most dangerous month in Rome, in August, of intermittent fever, of malaria pernicio- sa. That may be true. But contemporaries, including many well-known historians, did not believe it. And even Catholic authors express themselves quite differently. Even Seppelt writes: - There can be little doubt that malaria was not the cause of his death, but rather that he died as a result of an accidental poison that he and his son Cesare had given to Cardinal Adriano Castellesi of Corneto at a banquet organized by the latter in his villa on the Janiculus." Hans Kühner explains: "According to the latest research, it must be considered proven that father and son

were poisoned by Cardinal Adriano Castellesi." And for Ranke it was "only **too well** attested" that the pope intended to "put one of the richest cardinals out of the way with poison; but ... he himself died of the poison with which he wanted to kill another.

And still dying, he lay between two hookers who were supposed to soothe his fever - while a woman walled up alive in the corridor of the Vatican was ordered to pray for him.'-.

B LUTSÄU FER QU LI US ^ TR ITT AN

Alexander VI was succeeded by Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, Pius III, the nephew of Pius II, who had made him a cardinal more than forty years earlier. As such he became, an admittedly controversial claim, "a happy father of no less than twelve children, male and female" (Gregorovius). And perhaps this is why the new pontiff, elected after the usual intrigues, was (also) so peaceful.

In any case: finally a pope against whom almost nothing could be said, given his entire pontificate, except that he offered to take action against - Cesare Borgia of France -, his - beloved son", - the Duke of Romagria and Valence, the Gonfaloniere of the Church. He wrote several breves in his favor and even arranged for him to return to Rome with a dewy-eyed man.

Yes, a flawless pontiff: admittedly already so ill at his coronation on October 8 that he could barely stand and died ten days later; still willing on his deathbed to create his nephew Giovanni Piccolomini as cardinal; but no longer strong enough to sign the already prepared bull of appointment. Poisoning, of which several sources speak, is probably dispensable, too much (of evil) - although he still did not believe in his imminent end the day before his death. °

From a completely different mold: the successor Giuliano del-

la Rovere, Julius fl.{i 5o3-i 513). His infamous uncle Sixtus IV, the real founder of the power and wealth of the della Rove- re, had appointed him *47*. bishop and cardinal at the very beginning of his reign, whereupon he quickly received further bishoprics, at least eight, many abbeys and benefices, which made him one of the richest cardinals. Already a repeated candidate for the papacy, *eq,* like *his uncle,* was (almost) unanimously elected to the See of the Chairs in one day.

long. Afterwards, however, in a bull dated z4 . Janllar i yo6, he proved himself unversiimt enough to forbid future papal candidates the simony by means of which he himself had risen, under threat of the most severe penalties.

and to declare such an election null and void. '

Julius II, who himself owed everything to the papal veto, also wanted to pay tribute to nepotism, albeit not on a Sistine scale, so to speak. However, he also bestowed the purple on several of his relatives. For example, to the eldest son of his sister Lucchiiia, Galeotto della Rovere, his special lover, on whom he bestowed the important and lucrative office of vice-chancellor as well as a wealth of benefits. Cardinal also became Cle- mente Grosso della Rovere. And when Galeotto had already passed away i yo8, Julius appointed another nepotist, Sisto Gara della Rovere, as cardinal on the day of his death, also as vice-chancellor, and showered him with all of the deceased's benefits - all proof for Ludwig von Pastor: -How little Julius H. abandoned himself to nepotistic inclinations -!

The pope had long since elevated another relative, Francesco Maria Rovere, a thirteen-year-old boy, to the position of prefect of the city of Rome, and had also ensured that he became Duke of Ur- bino in 5o8, when he, the pope's nephew, stabbed a cardinal to death in the streets of Rome! A scene worthy of Borgia. Julius absolved him and on his deathbed gave him Pesaro on top of everything else, an area of the Papal States where he then resided.

Many other things also seem Borgiaesque. 5oJ ulius occasionally indulged in luxury; for example, a handful of precious stones that he bought for

i z ooo ducats; on a famous, even more expensive slide mantel, emblazoned among other jewels on his cloak.

or to his two daughters in the Wßft VOft 300 OOO ducats. He also organized a lavish wedding for his nephew i oy in the Vati- kan. And the]ary before, there had already been a notable visit there: accompanied by splendid cardinals and courtiers on horseback, Pope's sister Lucchina appeared with Pope's daughter Felice, whom Julius, quite adept at marriage politics, married off to an Orsini, just as niece Lucrezia Gara della Rovere married off to a Colonna. In this way, he sought to create peace and quiet and backing in Rome for his future wars.

Although the pope threatened clerics living in concubinage, he was generous enough - remember Uncle Sixtus (p. z8o)

- Julius issued a bull ordering the establishment of a brothel, an establishment also tolerated by Leo X and Clement VII, but on condition that the nuns of 5ainte-Marie-Madeleine were to receive a quarter of the possessions and goods of the daughters working there after their death. Julius also had three daughters, as well as syphilis, and contemporaries spoke of pederasty and sodomy, indeed of a great sodomite. Ranke attests to him in general

• Immodesty and debauchery - for -he too loved lust- {Theiner). His life had been as dissolute as -that of most prelates of his time" {Gregorovius), which Pastor also admits, almost verbatim, even without the temporal limitation. Of course: - "as pope he lived differently".'*

In general, the historian of the popes presents his hero as the epitome of integrity: in general, "a straightforward nature of ruthless openness and dissimulation contradicted the nature of Julius 11". And yet he himself wrote only a few lines earlier that the pope had not disdained the arts of statesmen, had practiced dissimulation.

His behavior towards Cesare Borgia shows just how much.

He once had relations with the -duca Valentino- at the French royal court and arranged his marriage to a princess. And only a short time ago, Cesare samr had secured the election of Rovere as pope for the Spanish cardinals, who promised him the patronage of the church and favoritism for his owner. But the pope did not keep his promise. He left

Cesare and bring him to Rome. Understandably, he hated him with all his might, but he did not show it to him, instead behaving in a friendly, obliging manner. It seemed unwise to him to throw away such a tool unused, especially as it was possibly still to be used in Romagna against the much more dangerous Venice, which was advancing there and which he was also trying to counter. Borgia still had troops in Rocca Soriana under the command of his private aristocrat Don Michelewo Coreglia. He also commanded a number of Romagna castles, which the pope wanted but could not obtain by force. So he feigned sympathy, gave the prisoner hope and allowed him to live in the Vatican, even with a court. He called Cesare, whose downfall he was plotting (admittedly so that the blame would not fall on him, the Pope), his beloved son, as Pius III had already done, and like him, Julius Breven also wrote in his favor. Of course, Cesare recognized his risky existence in the hands of the Rovere. He fled, was arrested on a French galley in Ostia, brought back, and after fleeing once more, Julius again sought his arrest, which was treacherously carried out in Naples, repeatedly breaking his word and cheered by the Pope. i 5o4 -transferred to Spain, the Borgia spent two years in a Castilian dungeon¡ his sister Lucre- intervened in vain. zia repeatedly to the king and pope.

Although he broke out again in the fall, he now fell in a feud in the service of his brother-in-law Jean d'Albret, King of Navarre. M ** 5 7 'm the age of 3 i years.-$

JU LI US) l. B ECAME PERU G I A A N D BO LO G N A

Cesare had not yet completely disappeared from the scene when the Pope turned against Perugia and ßologna. After all, he intended nothing less than to regain for the Church all that his predecessor had given back to his own, the Borgia dynasty.

nastie, was entrenched. And now also conquered through a single chain of conspiracies and violence, which then existed to this extent until 'g7.

In Italy, the Franciscan Julius II was also called -11 terrible", the horrible one, which Pastor, however, is so - even still -woh1 b e s t " - Germanized: -quite extraordinary, mighty, great, overwhelming-. The "fiery old man", an "iron man", as Pastor praises him again, "who used all {!) means for his great goal, who always carried poison with him for safety's sake, preferred to appear under a helmet rather than a tiara, also took to the so-called field in ice and snow, as in the legendary winter war around Mirandola. He was also a hunter, of course, as it is closely connected, although war and hunting were forbidden to the clergy. He passionately wielded a stick, which he also used to scMug Michelangelo, whom he employed as well as Bramante and Raphael, while he threatened to drown Lodovico Ariosto, the greatest Italian poet of the time and the completer of Italian Renaissance literature, like a dog in the Tiber - "a pope given to drink and vicious," according to Emperor Maximilian. As commander-in-chief, Julius controlled the troops with a sword in his fist, in his armor, even though it was on him, scoffed the Belgian humanist Jean Lemaire at the time, "like a booted monk dancing". He is said to have heard Holy Mass almost every day, *or e v e n* celebrated it himself. And almost every year of his pontificate he waged war and wanted to "outdo the thunder" with his battles. He conquered thirty permanent places for the Holy See, founder of a power never possessed by a pope," writes Ranke, not without a note of admiration that still leaves many, especially those close to the Church, stunned today. seem to be.

On the one hand, however, it should be remembered that the popes created this state, which divided Italy into three parts for more than a millennium and created endless conflicts, merely through war and deception, the alleged Donation of Constantine, which was also invoked by Julius II,
in their possessive hands (lV i3. ch., esp. 37 ff.!), so that the reconquest was only based on a sham right, only

was the continuation of an old injustice. Not to mention the fact that Julius also expanded the Papal States, adding territories to them that in no way belonged to them: Modena, Reggio, Parma, Piacenza.

On the other hand: Next to the biblical Jesus, next to the preacher of love of neighbor, love of enemy, the preacher of renouncing resistance, retaliation, self-assertion, how does someone who drives his soldiers to plunder, rob, slaughter*, who himself goes ahead of them in helmet, armor, with a sword? And even pretends to be a disciple of Jesus, his representative! Isn't it absolutely horrible, grotesque? Not a caricature, no, the opposite. Not an apostle, the antipode. Not a servant of God, the devil! The devil in person! -The Papal States ... Julius II governed it very well (Jesuit von Hertling).

In general: as advantageous for a part of the clergy, the hierarchy, the papacy in particular, the military actions of the

-The continuation of the ecclesiastical state was so devastating for the Italian people and the rest of the world, a constant source of spiritual tyranny, social exploitation and bloody wars. And at least the continued stultification might have spared us the success of the Borgia secularization.'-.

Rome was now quiet under Julius. No wonder. -An aptly harsh regiment, Luther found when he visited the city. There was widespread peace in Italy - Florence's war against Pisa aside. The pope had been hoarding money and arming himself for three years before he set off against Perugia in the summer of i5oö with the majority of the cardinals at the head of a rather small but heavily armed army that was outrageous due to its fierce behavior, his first campaign; but from then on there was soon so much noise of arms and war, as it was once written, that Mars himself seemed to be sitting in the Holy See.

Julius was unable to expand in the south. Spain was there. So he tried his luck in the north, blessing on the way in full armor, attracting more soldiers and celebrating mass. And he was lucky. The Signora of Perugia, Gianpaolo Baglioni, who had previously fought alongside Cesare, was killed on the night of the

id. After escaping a terrible family bloodbath on July ryoo before losing his head in Rome, he surrendered Perugia, so that the papal forces occupied all the city's fortresses in September i yo6.

Julius II, however, granted an indulgence in Perugia, where all the bells were ringing, proclaiming that he wanted nothing more than peace, of course to be able to liberate Constantinople, the Holy Land

- and commanded his battles against Bologna, which was ruled by the Bentivogli. However, only the reinforcement of eight thousand French soldiers made his triumphal entry into the city, the second largest in the Papal States and the richest and most beautiful next to Rome, possible on November i i, which was marveled at by Erasmus of Rotierdam, among others: priests and warriors armed with weapons, arias, the Blessed Sacrament, thundering cannons and ringing bells - he was celebrated as a second Julius Caesar. Thirteen triumphal arches bore the inscription: -Ju1ius II, the liberator and highly deserving father - . The Bolognese roared:

-Long live Julius, the father of the fatherland, the upholder of Bologna's freedom!" And they soon had to experience that the liberator had a citadel erected in the city, a forced castle, which they finally smashed as well as his monumental statue created by Michelangelo, a bronze statue compared to Phidias' works - in triple life size at the papal request - from which a cannon was then made, mockingly called "La Giulia".

JU LI US 11th B EKRI ECiT M IT DRAN K RE I CH S
H i LFE D IE VENEZ IAN ER UN D M IT VENE
DI GS H I LFE D IE DRAN ZOSEN

The pope's next victim was the powerful Republic of St. Mark. As the Rovere had always been their friend as a cardinal, they also supported his election. However, Venice ruled over several cities in Romagna that Julius claimed: Ravenna, Faenza, Cervia and Rimini. Seeing her withdrawal eq so he submitted to the Doge on

io. January i yo4. an -insult to God and loss of Our sight- tind even wanted one day, as he called out to the ambassador Paolo Pisani, to make the ruler of the seas -a fishing village again-.

As early as i 5o4, Julius 11 had sent his nuncios to the great powers of France, Spain and Germany to chase them against Venice for the sake of the cities mentioned above¡ he had, as cardinal, already driven King Charles VIII to invade Italy (p. 3zq). On io. December i 5o8 he closed the League of Cambria, uniting Louis XII of France, Maximilian 1, Ferrairi, Mantua, Urbino and Florence against the Republic. And while the French armies and the papal army under the Nepote Francesco Maria Rovere, Duke of Urbino (p. 3da), were advancing against Venice and he hurled the ban against the lagoon city, it was destroyed on May ii. On May ii, i yoq, the city was brought to the brink of ruin by the military battle of Agnadello {province of Cremona).

When **Louis** XII, the emperor and the **pope,** who had been given the coveted

The Doge's son, Marco Loredano, advises the Venetians to seek help from the Turks "against the executioner of the human race, who calls himself its father". But in February xy io, Julius 11 allied himself with the Venetians, as he did not want to destroy the strongest bulwark against the Turks, nor did he want to depend on the Great Powers and proclaimed: -If Venice-, which he had recently intended to turn into a fishing village, "were not there, it could have been created".

He fell away from the League. And if he had first used France to conquer Bologna, he now formed a coalition with Venice against France in one of his typical rapidly changing alliances, to which alone he owed his victory over Venice, whose Cardinal of Clermont he held in the harshest custody in Castel Sant'Angelo. He also won over the Swiss in March i 5 xo, who contractually guaranteed him six thousand warriors against any enemy after he had appointed their bishop Matthaeus Schinner of Sion, a fanatical hater of France, as cardinal. And he won Spa

nia, whose i'tönig Ferdinand U. of Aragón he enfeoffed with Naples in July i 5 to without taking French claims into account.

Despite his policy of encirclement, Julius' campaign against the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso d'Este, Lucretia Bor- gia's third husband and a close ally of the French, which he himself led with great expectations, failed. And in May i 5 i i they took Bologna, the Bentivogli ruled again, the people smashed several of the pope's statues and threw down his castle. The legate and favorite Cardinal Francesco Alidosi, Julius' favorite, a greedy gangster who, as archbishop of the city, had exercised a reign of terror and had four senators and many citizens beheaded, was forced to flee. Then the Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria, Julius' nephew, who had rushed up with troops, was defeated and all the artillery was destroyed. Mirandola, only recently conquered, was also lost again. "If the duke comes into my hands," cried the pope, "I will have him quartered." And when the cardinal and the duke accused each other before the pontiff, shortly afterwards Julius' nephew stabbed the cardinal in the street {S34 >l-"

Julius did not give in. He wanted the French, whom he himself had once

to Italy in order to become pope, at all costs. He thought about it day and night. "Out with the barbarians," he often shouted. But quite apart from the fact that he called everyone, French, Spanish, Swiss, himself, he naturally did not want a free Italy, but an independent papacy.

Thus, he pursued a new encirclement and concluded another, a - holy league - with Venice, Ferdinand the Catholic and Henry VIII of England in the fall of i 5 i i . But on April i i i i z, Easter Sunday, the Spanish-Papal army was heavily defeated at Ra- venna by the outstanding commander Gaston de Foix, the nephew of the French king, in one of the bloodiest massacres on Italian soil for centuries. Jacopo Guicciardini reported to his brother5, the Florentine historian Francesco, then ambassador to Spain, that "it was horrible to see how every shot of the heavy artillery was fired among the

Hommes d'armes broke an alley, the helmets with the heads and mutilated limbs flew into the Luh.

A cardinal legate fought in each army, both old friends, in the French Sanseverino, in the papal Giovanni Medici, who had been taken prisoner: a year later Leo X. And yet another Medici and future pope, Clement VII, was involved in the bloodbath. Ten thousand corpses lay on the battlefield, and Ravenna was ravaged by terrible terror, by excesses of murder and robbery.

But since Gaston de Foix Ludwig Pastor, more gifted as a Catholic than as a stylist, also mentions him three times in three dozen lines

-(-genius-), had fallen, the Allies gradually regained control, especially with the Swiss streaming down over the mountains. France's rule in northern Italy collapsed and the remnants of its troops escaped across the Alps. And now Julius II, who was trying to keep every very strong man on his side, planned to move against another ally, against whose superior strength he concluded a pact of support with Emperor Maximilian in November: the Spaniards. There was already talk of their expulsion from Italy, the pope himself declared that he hated the Spanish no less than the French, and said to Cardinal Domenico Grimani, pushing his cane on the ground:

•*If* Cotr saves my life, *I will* also free the Neapolitans from the yoke that lies upon them."

But Julius II's days were numbered. Suffering for some time, having been ill with fever for several weeks, he died in the night of February z i y z , only confessing on his deathbed that he had not lived and had not re- garded as he should have.

According to Francesco Guicciardini, the Pope had nothing more of a priest about him than a coat and a name. His entire pontificate was dominated by war. Gewifi, countless popes waged wars. But only a few fought themselves, and only a few so persistently, so senilely dogged. Everything ecclesiastical was marginal. And it s e r v e d politics - as it always did in Curia circles and far b e y o n d , o f course - from the excommunications and curses to the opening of the y. Lateranum on May 3, i 3 x z in Rome, with which Julius,

protected all around by soldiers, successfully confronted a council o f defiant cardiarchs in Pisa, which sought his deposition.

ÜAPST LEO X. (I §1 §-15 ß I)
" N uxC TRI U M **PHAB** I MUS , A MI CI "

As is not uncommon, the successor proved to be the opposite in many respects and, again not unusually, without being any better.

Giovanni de' Medici, Leo X, was the second son of Lorenzo il M "gnifico {p. z8 y f.), who had already provided the child, a boy of seven, with the tonsure and many benefices. At the age of eight, little Giovanni became abbot of Front Douce in France, at nine abbot in Passignano, at eleven in the famous Monte Cassino. And at the age of thirteen, his father, who was as rich as he was influential, had Innocent VIII, the witch-bull pontifex, appoint him a cardinal.

At the age of 37, Medici himself receives the tiara - possibly only because he was diagnosed with a fistula in his anus at the time.
from Florence to Rome in a sedan chair, had even undergone surgery during the conclave and revealed his precarious state of health and his short lifespan to anyone who wanted to hear it, especially older voters. Leo's fistula was considered by some to be the result of an immoral lifestyle, while on the other hand his main virtue was said to be chastity. Perhaps **his** most **popular** dictum, however, was uttered shortly after the election: -Let us enjoy the papacy, since God has conferred it on us - . The other version: "Now we triumph", can be just as authentic or unauthentic; se tion e vero, e ben trovato.

It is no coincidence that the era of the most glamorous Renaissance hierarch, who is still much admired by aesthetes today, has been called the Golden Age. A careful education by outstanding humanists could not harm his cheerful nature. A lover of light-heartedness and fun, he preferred to avoid the unpleasant.

 he laughed and amused himself through the years, very expensively indeed, but reasonably cultivated. It was not so much the proto-vulgarism of the Borgia, not so much the pompous Spanish as the finer Florentine style, which admittedly also allows raw, vulgar excesses. was not cheaper, on the contrary.$-

The Medicean pope, corpulent, almost chunky, with a pudgy, pudgy face, and extremely short-sighted (which is why he fixed visitors with a magnifying glass), had nothing attractive about him, but also nothing of a fanatic. He resembled, as was once written very generally and vividly at the same time, the disgusting prelate figures that run around by the hundreds, and, apart from his notorious insatiable addiction to pleasure, which was caused by his origins and encouraged by the ambience, he was simply lazy. Holiness rose **late,** then, it is said, heard mass every day, graciously granted audience, had a meal, resumed his rest, then entertained himself, played chess, cards, rode through t h e Vatican gardens or slaughtered animals.

Hunting, canonically forbidden to every priest, moreover once He himself forbade the Portuguese clergy from hunting at the instigation of their king as unclerical. His favorite hunting lodge Magliana was only nine kilometers from Rome, which he had enlarged and embellished shortly before his death, as he also wanted to represent himself as a hunter. So he ordered the bailiff of a papal villa: - You must ensure that there is a good dinner with plenty of fish for me, as I am very keen to show off my splendor to the scholars and others who will be accompanying me." He liked to indulge in pickling near Viterbo and fishing on Lake Bolse. There were favorite enclosures for killing wild boar or red deer.

In the fall, he spent almost the entire month of October hunting for According to the papal chief master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, he also spent two months, three, He especially enjoyed watching birds of prey being strangled to death by trained birds of prey, quails, partridges and pheasants. They also killed hares, herons and roe deer. And it was certainly a highlight of noble hunting,

At Santa Marinella, near Civitavecchia, the deer were hunted into the Meet in a formal deer trap, where noblemen or priests could then easily shoot them on barges. Sometimes Holiness would also stab deer caught in a net with a spike. (How closely the huntsman's salvation and salvation history are connected. Cf. V J4 f!)

The Pope spared no expense for his bloodthirsty sport.

And although he usually only hunted with a retinue of a few hundred companions, cardinals, servants, musicians, literati, court jesters, buffoons and about 6o bodyguards, there were also hunts with a thousand and two thousand horsemen*°.

NE POTI S MUS T A ND SHO LD SA S THE LAN D A T THE SEA

As the pontiff, who loved splendour, did not skimp on festivities and his palace often seemed to become the setting for a glittering theatrical series, a continuous festival, the demands of Leo X, a true natural talent for lavishing money, were immense. He spent z oo ooo ducats on the Sacro Possesso ceremony, a single celebration at the inauguration, one seventh of the reserves accumulated by Juĺius II over nine years. And in just two years, he had completely used up all of his treasure - in a city whose public poverty cried out to heaven like its private luxuries.

It was not only historians close to the Church who praised and extolled the Medicean pope's charitable activity beyond measure: 6ooo ducats of alms per year! His own household, however, consumed almost too ooo ducats a year, while Julius II's was even higher.

mİ-4 ooo ducats). The cardinals spent thousands at a single banquet. Leo spent 8ooo ducats a month on gifts and card games alone, and just as much on his table.

He gave his brother Giuliano 6,000 ducats for his wedding. And if you consider that Leo's doctor Archangiolo spent eight months

Ducars, one can imagine what it means that the annual income allocated to GiuĹiano amounted to 6oo ducats, and that the pope is said to have paid 5oo ducats for the wedding celebration of the binder alone.

Giuliano married Filiberta, the queen of Francis I of France, the first royal marriage in the House of Medici. King Francis elevated Giuliano to Duke of Nemours, and Leo had destined his beloved brother for great things in Italy, giving him a principality with the cities of Modena, Parma, Piacenza and Reggio, and probably also the crown of Naples. However, GiuĹiano died exhausted by debauchery (it was rumored by some that the jealous Lorenzoì, only¡ 7 years old, was already r y i 6 in Florence; his only heir, the illegitimate son Ippolito Medici, later became a cardinal.

Deeply saddened, the Pope now transferred - reminiscent of Alexander VI and Cesare {p. j zj) - transferred his great affection for his brother to his nephew Lorenzo, whom he had already made captain of the Florentines, commander-in-chief of the papal troops and then also Duke of Urbino. And when Lorenzo went to France in March i i 8 to marry Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, his gifts for the bride and Queen Claudíźt were estimated **at 300 oOO** ducats. (In a bull, he gave the king himself permission to use the Turkish tithe as he wished}.

Immediately after the papal election, Leo's cousin Giulio advanced in one day from the rather modest monk's job of a prior to Archbishop of Florence, not without perjury, incidentally, as Giulio was born out of wedlock, a canonical obstacle - again reminiscent of the Borgia (p. 3 z5) - removed by the lie that his parents had been married. By virtue of this documented fraud, the Nepote was not only able to win the cardinalate, but also the enormously lucrative post of vice-chancellor, eventually becoming Pope Clement VII.

The son of Leo's sister Maddalena, Innocent Cibò, the grandson of Pope Innocent VIII, became a cardinal; the son of Leo's sister Lucrezia, Giovanni Salviaii, became a cardinal; the son of Leo's sister Contessina, Niccolò Ridolfi, became a cardinal.

And the nepotist Lodovico Rossi also received the red hat. At the same time, relatives by marriage naturally enjoyed the highest **favor**. For example, the husband of Maddalina's daughter Caterina, Giovan Maria da Varano of Camerino, received the birth of Sinigaglia, the dukedom and the 5tclle of Roman city prefect.*-

The expenditure under Leo X was exorbitant. He and his court wasted fabulous sums of money.

Where did the money come from?

The papal state income in March i y i y - made up of the plusszoll, the land tax, the alum works of Tolfa, the salaries of Cervia, the income from Spoleto, the Margrave of Ancona, the Romagna and others - at4 > OOO ducats. In addition, the so-called ecclesiastical revenues from annates and compositions yielded around zoo ooo ducats, the venal offices {of the colleges of the Porzionari di Ripa, def Cubiculari, Scudieri, the first Cavalieri di S. Pietro), created ad hoc, which the Pope increased by over a thousand severely fleeced members to zi o by the time of his death, had a capital value of almost three million ducats. **Added to this** were the acceptances from the tithes as well as the enormously strained jubilees and indulgences, huge transactions, objects of protest and satire, the money from heaped cardinal appointments, from confiscations and other curial financial transactions.

All this capital was hardly raised as quickly as it was spent. It was therefore necessary to take out loans, sometimes paying up to forty percent interest, to pawn the Pope's carpets, the most precious statues of saints, the silverware and the crown jewels. Since the Florentine head of the church, there have been thirty rentier banks in Rome - and debts upon debts, only at the Bini zoo bank ooo ducats. Cardinals Ridolfi and Rangoni had given up their entire benefices to raise money, Cardinal Salviati had 8o ooo, Cardinal Pucci i yo ooo ducats, Cardinal Armellini his entire fortune to claim. They were all on the brink of financial ruin when the Pope died.

According to an account presented by the Venetian ambassador Gradenigo, Cardinais Camerlengo Armellini gave

Pope Leo X spent four and a half million ducats during his reign and left behind oo ooo ducats in debt. Others estimated the debts to be twice as high, Girolamo Severino in a letter to Charles V at more than 8,000 ducats, King Francis I even higher. The Bonmor circulated in Rome: - Leo X had used up three pontificates: the treasury of Julius II, the income of his own government and that of his successor - which fits well with the Pope's own statement to his secret secretary Cardinal Pietro Bembo about the lucrative Christ fairy tale:
-Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus saeculis notum" (How profitable this fable of Christ has been for us is world-famous}.

Leo X did not spend all h i s money. He is said to have squandered 8oo ooo ducats on the war for Urbino alone.

LEO S B LUTIGEH LxVI EREN FOR THE M EDI CI

It is astonishing that such a pleasure-seeking man still found time for politics and war. But didn't he need it, especially if and because he wanted to indulge and enjoy the papacy - and his beloved relatives, the nephews and the nepotized? Nunc triumphabimus, amici! Significantly, he was just as unconcerned with the missionary work in the newly discovered overseas territories as he was initially with the emerging reform in Germany.

Leo X, politically rather small-minded and antiquated compared to the times, concentrated on the interests of the House of Medici, on Italy. Here, however, France and Spain were at war with each other, and the Duchy of Milan in particular was the target of the expansionist ambitions of rival European states, and the papacy had no need of a victor or a foreign all-powerful power. So, risking the worst entanglements, it fought with Spain against France, then with France

against Spain, there was no end to the conflicts, and Leo maneuvered unscrupulously between the great powers, deceitful, duplicitous, devious. While the Italians believed he was fighting for their freedom, he was only fighting for the freedom of the Curia, for the uninhibited enjoyment of the papacy and the happiness of his clan.

In the war for Milan and Lombardy, where many people hoped for the return of the milder French ruler, Leo clearly leaned towards the anti-French forces, but concealed it as far as possible, negotiating with France's King Louis XII, whose conquest of Milan he also tried to prevent. And when the League of Blois (March 3, i 5 i3), France's alliance with Venice, was opposed by the League of Mechelen {y. April i y i3), he supported it with money, but officially denied his support and only celebrated the victory with the ringing of bells, bonfires and lavish celebrations when the French were completely defeated at Novara on June 6 i J i 3 and driven over Mont Cenis and the Venetians were chased back to the lagoons.

However, since France also lost the "Battle of the Spurs" at Guinegate on i6. As France also lost the "Battle of the Spurs" at Guinegate against the English and the emperors on August 6th and thus Picardy, the Pope approached the now weakened country, which in turn also ended the schism and sought ecclesiastical reconciliation. At the same time, however, Leo endeavored to free Venice from France, secretly forging a pact against France, a union of Spain, the emperor, Switzerland, Mayland and Florence. However, he continued to negotiate with the French king - after Louis XII's death, Francis I. In the event of a victory, he wanted to give him Milan if the king would concede Naples to his brother Giuliano, which Francis I did not think about. So the Pope openly joined the anti-French alliance he had initiated in February i J i 5 a *7- July
and tried to drag England into the war.

On i 3. and id. September they crossed arms at Marigiia- no. Alongside Spanish, Italian and papal contingents (the latter under the nephews Lorenzo and Cardinal Giulio Medici), the main force of the League was formed by the Confederates. They

were considered invincible and were personally led by the Bishop of Sion, Cardinal Schineq, a notorious sharpshooter, against the death and destruction-spewing guns of the French, 6o larger cannons and ioo so-called field snakes. But when Venetian cavalry intervened in the carnage on the evening of the second day of battle, the League was defeated.

Leo X, who had already received a hasty report of victory that had caused]ubel and rejoicing in Rome, was so dismayed by the defeat that he once again appeared to change sides, even traveling to the victor in person. Franz I. Although Francis I prostrated himself before Leo three times in Bologna in accordance with protocol, kissed him hand and foot and showed him many attentions {he only refused to receive the communion, but concluded a treaty that was advantageous for France and deprived the pope of Parma and Piacenza, Modena and Reggio, and made the Spanish King Ferdinand, who died soon afterwards, shout indignantly to Rome that his Holiness had probably been playing a double game and that "all his zeal for the expulsion of the French from Italy was just a mask".

In fact, Leo detested the rule of the French in Italy and continued to negotiate with Spain and the emperor, even having Maximilian expressly assure him that he would remain loyal to the old league with him. Moreover, in one of his greatest villainous deeds, he held himself harmless by the robbery of Urbino with only reluctantly elected French support.

x yo8 Julius II had made his nephew Francesco Maria Rovere duke there (p. 34 z}. And now Leo's nephew Loenzo Medici was to become duke. It was actually quite logical. Ver-

In vain did King Francis intercede for the Rovere, in vain did his adoptive mother Duchess Elisaberra Gonzaga of Urbino, the widow of his predecessor, in vain did Leo's own brother. Giuliano, still dying, begged for the Pope's mercy and recalled the hospitality granted to the exiled Medici for years by the House of Urbino. Leo, who was praised as so peaceful and friendly, hurled the ban against Julius* II. Nepotene, the traitor who had abandoned him against France,

and marched his warriors, supported by French troops, from three sides against Urbino, where Lorenzo Medici resided as duke with effect from i 8 August i i 6.

But Rovere, who had fled to his father-in-law Francœsco Gonzaga in **Mantua, returned to** Urbino with a small army at the beginning of February, much to Leo's astonishment and anger, and fought for months, well into the summer, in Umbria against the papal soldiery, - as almost always, the ejection of the nations, rapacious and without discipline.

{Gregorovius), which cost Leo huge sums of money and caused enormous damage despite the levying of war taxes throughout the Papal States. He also lost a great deal of prestige, as he called on the whole of Christendom nm support in a battle that was basically about little more than nm the removal of one pope's nephew by another pope's nephew, a family conflict, nm not to say a private matter, albeit a particularly sordid one.

Even during this war, at the end of April i 5 -7, there was another very Christian conflict, the discovery of a conspiracy against the life of the Pope.

The young Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci had initiated the p l o t, which involved several prominent cardinals, because of the serious disadvantage of the deprivation of his Sienese family, who had rendered outstanding services to the pope. The outraged purple wearer planned an act of revenge, a poisoning by the respected doctor Battista da Vercelli. However, the plot was discovered and the cardinal was arrested in Rome by papal order, breaking his word and violating his freedom of conduct, and thrown into the deepest dungeon of Castel Sant'Angelo with his colleague Bandinello Sauli, soon followed by Cardinal Riario, who was carried to prison after fainting. Presumably, but the sources contradict each other, the gentlemen were tortured and Petrucci himself, who refused a confessor, was strangled or beheaded after the Pope once again broke his word. His secretary Marc Antonio Nino and Battista da Vercelli were first horribly martyred, then hanged and quartered, and other people were also executed or sentenced to death.

condemned to the galleys, at best only fleeced (z y ooo ducats each).

While Pope Leo was having a more or less bloody battle with his College of Saints and fighting and defeating his predecessor's nephew in Umbria, a still almost unknown monk on the other side of the Alps criticized the system of indulgences and finally wrote g theses against it (the attack on the Wittenberg castle church is disputed).

i i. CHAPTER

THE DRAIN FROM CATHOLIC TO PROTESTANT LUTHER

- The Credits of the Credits-. Horst Herrmann'

• ... xixE xc HTE
D O GM EN G ES C H IC K
N EW I LD I N G"

As early as the time of John Hus, Luther's Czech predecessor, large chests were set up in Prague churches for the collection {p. I94) and goods were also accepted when there was a shortage of cash. At the time of Luther's debut, indulgences had long been a purely financial business, an exploitation of the believing masses. And it was not only the clergy, the Roman Curia, the bishops, preachers and confessors who wanted to profit from it, but also the sovereigns, money changers and agents.

Indulgences, what does that mean?

In Catholicism of the Latin tradition, not in the Eastern churches, a distinction is made between guilt of sin {culpa) and so-called temporal punishment of sin {poena). The guilt of sin and eternal punishment of sin are erased in confession, in the so-called sacrament of penance. Strangely enough, however, the temporal punishments of sin to be expiated on earth or in "purgatory" remain. And apparently they only remain in order to be eradicated by indulgences; either by plenary indulgences, which completely eradicate *all* temporal punishments, or by incomplete indulgences, which merely remit a *limited* measure of these punishments. So if someone died immediately after gaining a plenary indulgence, he would "immediately go to heaven without touching the flames of purgatory - {Bcringer).

Unfortunately, not everyone has this good fortune. That's why Mother Church in never dormant pastoral care nor imperfect indulgences. The thereby

However, the above-mentioned measures of time do not refer to a time to be atoned for on earth or in purgatory, but to the time a penitent took to get rid of his sins in the early Middle Ages {S. Doz f.). In any case, as the Melchite cardinal patriarch emphasized at the Second Vatican Council iq65, indulgences only emerged in the Middle Ages and were a problem of the Roman Church alone. We will spare ourselves further details in this regard, since here, as is usual in theology, almost everything is based on fictions, on myths. And although the church claims that "Christ has given it the authority to grant abla- vation, the New Testament knows nothing about abla- vation. It is, according to the Dictionary of Theology and the Church, a genuine dogma-historical innovation", about which, according to the Protestant theologian Heinrich Bornkamm, scholars still disagree to this day. No wonder, since the fiscal problem was always more interesting for the church than the theological one, the -creditum- more important than the -credo-, as Horst Herrmann sneers, who wrote the relevant chapter of his Luther- The credo of the credit'.

Although the service required for the AblaB could be of a spiritual nature, it increasingly amounted to material donations. The clergy donated the grace, the believer the money.

The popes even promoted credit societies through indulgences, of course their own, the "Montes pietatis", and since the procurement of working capital was difficult at the beginning, they encouraged "donations" through the granting of indulgences: Pius 11, Sixrus IV, Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, Julius fl, Leo X. Especially under Sixtus and Leo, indulgences increased enormously, and quite obviously due to a chronic lack of money.

Dl E - Fuc cEREI"

In the Middle Ages, the)uden had initially played a significant role in money transactions, followed by weighted Lombards, Caorsini from the south of France, changers from Cahors, and finally Florentines.

Sienese banks, the Fuggers - one of the leading Augsburg trading houses alongside Wel- sem and Höchstette - gradually gained in importance on the international capital market.
especially in the fiscal system of the Habsburgs and the Curia and their dignitaries north of the Alps.

Already at the end of the i y. The Fuggers were among the most powerful financial agents of the popes, who soon owed them huge sums of money. UBS, the French Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Gurk, Raymund Peraudi, transfers Swedish indulgences to Rome through Georg Fugger {Nuremberg). Peraudi, later Commissioner and Collector General in France, Germany and Scandinavia, had early contacts with the **company** and also the jubilee ablafi of y. October i yoo in Germany on behalf of Alexander VI. A third of the proceeds were to belong to the cardinal, but i yo3 Maximilian took the lion's share for himself. The emperor liked to advertise his ecclesiastical goals, for a Turkish campaign (which he never undertook), in order to conceal completely different plans. Duke George of Saxony, in agreement with Maximilian, his debtor, also pocketed 8,000 guilders in lien money. Other Christian princes were unabashed in taking advantage of the opportunity. Christian I, King of Denmark, makes use of
*45S for - imperial purposes - from a box filled with waste money in a sacristy in Roskilde. King Wladislaus of Bohemia and Ungarn repays his debts to the citizens of Breslau with jubilee gifts of i yoo. And sometimes the completely arbitrary use of such sins money, book money, crusade money even happened with the express permission of a pope, such as that of Leo X towards King Francis I of France (p. 354)

*4 5 a Roman Fugger branch is founded, whose
The next year, the Florentine Jacopo de Doffis, a cleric, took over the management. And soon the Bishop of Schleswig is as much a Fugger client as the Archbishop of Taranto.

Around the turn of the century, Jakob Fugger - "the rich" - consolidates
• i •4 The Fugger family is raised to the rank of count, painted by Dürer, like his successor (since i y z y) Anton Fugger by Titian - the economic power of his company and finally reaches its world-historical peak.

the high point. With a starting capital of just IO OOO guilders, he increased the company's assets by more than i 8oo ooo guilders. In the meantime, the company had pushed back domestic banks in Italy, attracted major Vatican customers from Germany and gained ground in Eastern Europe through its Krakow branch, as well as in the Polish and Hungarian trading areas. All kinds of payments had long been processed, from Augsburg builders' invoices, letters of credit for travelers to Rome, transactions with money changers, interest-bearing deposits, loans for high prelates, servitors and annates, to political-military banking orders, such as the collection of the Turkish tithe, advances for a war fleet and the armament of the Papal States in general.

Alexander VI had already repeatedly made use of the Fuggers in the last years of his reign, and Johannes Zink, an extremely enterprising man, had also begun to represent the Fuggers in Rome. And like de Doffis, Zink was also a cleric who, promoted from time to time, rose in the Curia from Magister to Count Palatine to Papal Familiar, but at the same time remained head of the Fugger House in Rome. On the one hand, he extended the business area to England, Scandinavia and Finland. On the other hand, he inhibited the activities of the Weiser in Rome, where Christoph Welser also became papal protonotary and secret chamberlain. He, Zink, possessed 3 z flatly provable benefices and even found time to profitably line his own pockets with ecclesiastical offices and dignities.

Fugger's intensive efforts increasingly fiscalized the so-called "grace trade"; indeed, the company attempted to monopolize it through commercial centralization, as was similarly done with other trades, such as copper, a monopoly that made them immensely rich. - Goods remained goods for them. And only far-sighted critics of the time understood that through Zink's activities, Italian fiscalism poured into German commercial thinking and began to infuse it with its rational unrestrainedness, albeit with more robust Nordic forms and without southern elegance (von Pöl-

After the death of Alexander VI, the store of mercy continued to flourish under Julius II. From the very beginning, as soon as della Rovere's chances increased, the Swedish company provided his electors with funds through zinc and the new pope acknowledged a "conclave debt" of z5oo ducats to the Fuggers on his payday. And throughout his pontificate they transferred money to him from Germany, where their customers included most of the dioceses, such as Toul, Verdun, Aquileia, Passau, Basel, Salzburg, Augsburg, Regensburg, Speyer, Bamberg, Würzburg, Fulda, Hildesheim, the Hanseatic cities, Breslau, Leipzig, Meifien, Krakow and others. Jakob Fugger allegedly boasted that he had been involved in the occupation of all German bishoprics, sometimes even twice or three times, and had earned money from it. Around i y i i his own collected Jubilee indulgences for St. Peter in Silesia, Hungary and Poland. And as far as Leo X is concerned, it speaks for itself that the factor Johannes Zink owes him no less than y6 certified proofs of grace between i §13 tlfld i 5 z r .

At least some of the high clergy were also involved *in* the Fugger trade through private interests and, contrary to all biblical and canonical prohibitions, gave the company more or less large sums as silent loans. Also speculating there were - apparently quite extensive Vatican circles" {von Pölnitz). Cardinal Fazio Santorio, the financially savvy head of the Datarie, was one of these customers, as was the Archbishop of Gran or the Bishop of Breslau Johann Thurzo and his brother, the Prelate of Olmütz, where the Fugger factors were able to open and empty the coffers with their own keys.

Cardinal Melchior von Mek- kau, the Prince-Bishop of Brixen, was a particular beneficiary of the Augsburg house. 5 He invested•4 6 an interest-bearing deposit in strict confidence of zo ooo guilders, with which the company could proceed as it wished.
was allowed to do so. Apparently satisfied by the deal, the Carthusian put more money into the Fuggerbank. And in March i yoq, his deposit amounted to i y1 g3 i guilders without deductions - the company's own trading assets amounted to only i q8 qi 5 guilders exactly one year later!'

However, the Fuggers not only joined forces financially, but also also familiar with the clergy.

The older Marx Fugger had already received a canonry from the Pope. The younger Marx, who worked mostly in the Vatican as protonotary and scriptor under Julius II, held an archdeaconry in Liegnitz, a canonry in Würzburg, two pastorates in the diocese of Passau, the cathedral benefice in Passau, two provostries in Speyec, a provostry each in Bamberg, Regensburg and Augsburg. Ja- kob Fugger the Rich had also originally embarked on a clerical career at Herrieden Abbey. And later the family provided a bishop in Constance, two bishops in Regensburg, and of course (with the exception of the Protestant Ulrich II the Younger) supported the Counter-Reformation, especially the Jesuits.

DIMENSIONS FOR Lx BEx Dx AND TOTE

While this led to various transactions between Va- tikan and Fuggep, the general public was most abused by the AblaQ trade.

The poorest people, the propertyless and almost moneyless masses, were also used to make do and at least to capitalize on their labour, for example in the construction of churches, especially large ones, such as the completion of Freiburg Minster, for which workers were obtained free of charge even from faraway places. There were also coveted favors for hauling sand and stone during the construction of the monastery. Or for helping - even on Sundays and public holidays - with fortress construction. And I §03 in the Duchy of Brunswick you could even earn an allowance of ioo days for quite mundane road works.

Popes and bishops were soon granting indulgences with full hands and for all sorts of things.

For example, for taking part in a procession in Venice with public vows. Or for the reverent pronouncing of the names of Jesus and Mitriä. i y i 4 the Lateran Synod granted

an indulgence of ten years to all denunciators and judges of Blasphemers.• • 7 German bishops granted an indulgence to all those who did not wear the Carmelite habit.

-They were still called "the white brothers", but still "the women's brothers" (nothing lewd was meant by this, as one might think, since it was said at the time, a common saying, that he hurt like a carmel, but the holy virgin, whom they especially venerated).

There were indulgences for those who had forgotten sins or their penances, there were indulgences for vow-breakers, perjurers, for thieves and robbers (retentio rei alienae). There were indulgences for mothers who smothered their child in their sleep, for believers who had contributed to or bought a new missal. Bishop Rudolf of Würzburg granted•4 81 an indulgence of4 days for this, a somewhat

{All purchasers of this criininal story are welcome to

I would be4 Ooo years!)

The Leipzig Schützenbrüder, who iJ8a "moved by ardent love and desire to increase the praise and service of God", donated Rhenish gold florins to the parish church of St. Nicholas. Nikolai yoo Rhenish gold guilders, received a donation, as did the - Schwestrn" of the Upper Alsatian rifle and crossbow fraternity of the small town of Ruf- ach, if they appear -truly repentant and confessed and give their holy alms to it, soofr and thick they do so-

.

Well said.

Perhaps the worst thing happened when indulgences were also offered for the dead, making them eligible for business, so to speak. According to Christian belief, the dead were not dead, they were either mostly in hell or, more rarely, in heaven; in any case, they were taken care of for eternity. But - there was still purgatory, where the poor souls atoned, for who knows how long, for all the guilt of their sad days on earth, and they could, could not, had to be helped. As early as the i 1st century, the clergy spread the unbelief about indulgences for the deceased.

In a book of examples for the use of preachers, an English Franciscan tells of a man's indulgence kaiif for his recently deceased son. He pays a great deal of money, but the son appears

to him the very next night in radiant splendor and loses his life.

proclaims: -Through the indulgences you bought for me, I was freed from purgatory and am now going to heaven.

Many followed him. And Rome once again proved to be a true blessing for the poor souls. The Nuremberg councillor Nikolaus Muffel, who took care of the miraculous phenomenon in the holy city of*455 with all his might, already names more than i 5 churches and cities where the languishing can be saved in the fire. could. He reports from the chapel of St. Praxedis: -If five masses are said for a soul in the chapel, it is freed from all torments. It is no wonder that numerous pilgrims undertook the costly journey to Rome precisely for the consolation of the poor souls.'°

Of course, not everyone could travel to Rome and, like Martin Luther x 5 io/i y i i , walk through all the churches and cryptos as "a great saint", believing everything that was lied about and said there, and seriously regretting "that my father and mother were still alive, for I would have liked to deliver them from purgatory with my masses ....- No, only the elect were granted visits to Rome, and so Mother Church, in her tireless concern for the salvation of souls, also granted the great graces elsewhere. The do
minican nuns of Kirchheim in Württemberg, the abla8onary Peraudi, appointed cardinal for his merits at•493 , sold five letters of abla8on, "which cost more than io guilders; but
We gladly gave it," a nun confessed, "that we would like to come to the aid of the souls in purgatory ... Some sisters took zoo souls, some ioo, some yo, and after that every vcrmöchte.

Around the middle of the i 4th century, the long-practiced saving of the poor souls was still very controversial theologically. However, in the late x century, in the early i6th century, the popes Calixtus III, Sixtus iV and Inno. century, Popes Calixtus **III,** Sixtus iV, Innocent **VIII,** Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X granted authentic indulgences for the deceased.

Even in the zo. For example, a cleric who puts on his surplice, makes the sign of the cross and says a certain prayer is granted indulgences for 3OO days. Also anyone who kisses the pope's ring,

In Einstein's century, a person who kuBes that of a cardinal receives 300 days' indulgence, i oo days, that of a bishop, yo days' indulgence. Whoever prays - "Lord, keep our faith": too days indulgence each time. Whoever says the words of praise while listening to blasphemers

-God be praised!": 5o days of indulgence each time. And even for the poor souls in purgatory the Apostolic See still grants indulgences - but the effect is now left open, If the indulgence for the living is still -infallible-, it cannot be determined whether and to what extent -a very specific poor soul benefits from an i n d u l g e n c e " (Jone}.

Incidentally, one now criticizes the lack of criticism - in the Middle Ages

- yes, who would want it! -, rebukes the all too frequent indulgences.

the sometimes inappropriate height, which has already provoked mockery.

-simple (!} humanists, criticizes the too small achievements for too big promises, the many forgeries - instead of calling the whole thing itself absurd, the swindle simply a swindle.

C O NTINUE S WIT H T H E M A L L O W A N D C O M P E T I T I O N

In the later Middle Ages, the treasures of grace gradually increased more and more steeply; the low profits of earlier times no longer applied. So they were increased. A prayer for the King of France, which brought i o days of indulgence in the middle of the i th century under Innocent IV, resulted in i o days a hundred years later under Clement VI. This was still a relatively modest incentive, but an inflationary development was in the offing.

In particular, the visit to many churches was associated with indulgences. And at the beginning of the xöth century, the papal legate Peraudi had granted indulgences for each of the relics in the castle church in Wittenberg. century for each of the relics in the

castle church in Wittenberg - as is well known, there were thousands of them - Pope Leo X turned the ioo days into too many years for each particle. And for each relic in Halle he awarded 4oOo years.

A Berlin manuscript heals even more: "Whoever says this prayer when the body of Christ is raised earns as much indulgence as a mower can cut a day's grass, and a day's grass means a year's indulgence." However, if an indulgence was particularly high, such as one of q8 ooo years in the Church of St. Sebastian in Rome, the German Rome Booklet assured: "No one who is with the worthy church should doubt the indulgence; anyone who doubts it is sinning gravely."

From a few days' sleep, we gradually progressed to
- in genuine or forged documents - up to iooo, i z ooo, q 8 000 jß Zti5 79 , i 86 oq3 years and more. With an indulgence of 6oo ooo years (sexcenta millia annorum), once to gain
on All Saints' Day and, of course, in Rome (in the church of St. Bibia- na), a modern Catholic expert prefers to assume a mistake. Yet an English prayer book gave an interval of i ooo ooo years, and the shrine books of Wit- tenberg or Halle proved to be no less generous.'*

A lot of indulgences were forged by secular and religious clergy in the later Middle Ages, and most of these forgeries were approved by the popes in the i5th and i 6th centuries. However, according to some theological experts, the forged indulgences eventually became valid - through customary law.

Of course, people at the time would not have been able to easily distinguish between genuine and non-genuine indulgences, quite apart from the fact that some were worth as much or as little as others. People were also more upset about the prices. And even more so about the repeated revocation - from t h e 3rd century onwards - of older indulgences that had been paid for. For this very reason, they had to be invalidated, they had to be w i t h d r a w n from the market, and new indulgences were always needed. So they were "suspended", as the artificial word goes, and lent again and paid again and collected again.

How many cross indulgences there were already! But from the I §th century onwards, (almost) all the previous ones were increasingly revoked and new ones issued. Pius II needed money for the restoration of the Roman Basilica of San Marco. So he had the Bishop of Treviso in his

Sixtus IV sought out a hundred people in his diocese who would pay a considerable sum for an indulgence - and suspended all other indulgences there until the money was found. Sixtus IV wanted to celebrate the Jubilee

*47S Pilgrims gather en masse in Rorg and, of course, take his own. So on zq. AugUSt 147 3 $ÄrTlt- liche plenary indulgences - except those of the churches in

Rome. Innocent VIII conquered on zq. August iq84 the Holy See - and on August 3o, iy8q he canceled all the plenary indulgences of his predecessor (with the exception of death indulgences). Anyone who wanted them again was welcome to have them, but for a new payment. And as lnnocent VIII proceeded after him: Alexander VI, Pius)II, Julius II, Leo X, Hadrian VI'*.

The ecclesiastical authorities kept silent about the abla- ble fraud for a long time, only protecting individual theologians, some of them anonymously {!). It was only when the fraud became more and more obvious that people became agitated about the activities of quaestors, almoners and ablates who collected money without papal or episcopal permission, who falsified papal and episcopal decrees, which ultimately occurred constantly from Spain to Scandinavia, but would not have happened at all if the lower clergy had not learned from the higher clergy to make common cause with the quaestors in exchange for some of the hoarded money. It was only when the sale of pardons became all too clumsy and frequent that it fell into disrepute and the high clergy had to fear for their income - and became jealous of the petty crooks throughout Europe.

Of course, there was also the practice, still popular in Catholicism today, of reprimanding the lower clergy, lesser prelates, for scandals that could no longer be concealed, so as not to cast a shadow on the higher, highest ones, the Holy Father himself, the actual breeding grounds of corruption. Such a

Hieronymus Emsec, secretary and court chaplain to Duke George of Saxony in Dresden from *i 5oS* to iyii: "But that the mis-

It is not the pope's fault, but the fault of the miserly Xommissaries, monks and clerics, who preached so impudently about it and only for their own benefit, so that they could also get a tip of the sack, thus grossly mismanaging the matter.

and relied more on money than on confession, repentance and sorrow, for which they undoubtedly had no command from Papal Holiness."

Nevertheless, they were strictly ordered by the popes to proclaim their indulgences. The parishes were also forced to proclaim indulgences under threat of ecclesiastical punishment, "under pain of banishment", as it was called in Hildesheim. Indeed, this day was often made a holiday in the parishes as early as the i3rd century. Century and celebrated with great pomp and circumstance, "with great praise", with great reverence.

Of course, the greater the effort and the graces, the less popular they gradually became. For example, an anonymous chronicle at•43* reports on a mission to Greece: but "da tailtens

the priests went under in and loosed themselves out of the hut in Basel in consily and were spawned. And when, in the spring of i yi8, abla- cies visited Breslau", the cathedral chapter there asked the bishop not to admit them, as so many similar decrees had been proclaimed "that the people were already disgusted by them and made a mockery of them". After all, when the bishop of Augsburg read out the Rome indulgence, "there was a great murmur among the people, then long ago Brother Berchtold preached here: 'if Rome came to one's door, one should keep one's pockets shut' and was often remembered; nevertheless, too many florins slipped into the church coffers. But especially in Augsburg, the city of the £uggers, whose F. stood on the Roman coins from i y io to r y 3d, one repeatedly heard insults about the Ab- laB as a fleecing of "the foul people". And it was widely rumored or rumored that the money held by the company served completely different purposes than many donors still believed.

For example, there was the anno i 5o6 indulgence endowed with high "graces" for the rebuilding of the Basilica of St. Peter the Apostle in Rome. It freed the living and the dead who had forgiven their sins in confession from all temporal punishments, from penance and from purgatory. The papal administrator of indulgences, however, was, at his own request, in his ecclesiastical provinces and beyond, Elector Albrecht of Mainz, also Archbishop of

Mainz, of Magdeburg, administrator of Halberstadt. He had acquired his high ecclesiastical dignities in Rome and therefore owed the Fuggers yo ooo ducats. So he pledged to the Augsburg Company - half of the incoming indulgence money, the "holy goods".

What Germany probably disliked most about the papacy at the time

dalized was the practice of indulgences. So it is hardly surprising that Lurher - who then branded this whole exploitation, the Roman greed for money, as "Fuggerism" - was particularly concerned with it. He had been criticizing it since i y r6, but also hit the Wittenberg AblaBsamm- lung, the Electoral Saxon relic treasures of his sovereign, with whom he "earned such bad grace", which is why he remarkably stopped his public criticism. And when he took it up again, he only knew how to theologically disqualify the teachings of the "Brandenburg" AblaB preachers and initially avoid any collision with the AblaB policy of his sovereign, so that contemporaries already suspected Frederick the Wise as the inspirer of the AblaB theses. In any case, on October 3, i J -7, Luther sent

the q5 theses on the power of indulgences to his Ordinary, the Bishop of Brandenburg and to his metropolitan, Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg/Mainz. And against the Fuggers, who decided in favor of the emperor and Catholicism in the erupting religious dispute, Luther, who rejected an unemployed income, spoke out emphatically in several writings."

T H E A B O U T
FROM THE - VERY GOOD PHP
ST' 2 UR ^ S A P S T S A U -

Initially, of course, Luther had also publicly acknowledged the justification of indulgences and had only taken an ever more resolute stance against their popularization and abuse since i y i 6/i 5 i y . I n the 9y theses, disputation theses, in which Luther's decidedly ambivalent attitude, a dichotomy between the two, is reflected.

However, in the first part of the book, where a new attitude towards the papacy is emerging, he occasionally goes far beyond the previous doctrine of indulgences, denying their validity before God, denying that "through the pope's indulgences, man becomes free and free from all punishment" {per pape indulgen- tias hominem ab omni pena solui et saluari). Instead, he declares that a large part of the people will inevitably be deceived - by that grandiloquently given promise of the

and for his part teaches: -36. Every Christian who truly who repents is entitled to full remission of punishment and guilt, even without a letter of indulgence {habet remissionem plenariam a pena et culpa, etiam sine literis veniarum sibi debitam).

Luther, however, attacks the apostates much more, -these cheeky indulgence sermon - than Leo X, whom he once even calls "a very good pope" whose "integrity and erudition delight all good ears". He is certainly angry: -Why doesn't the Pope, who today is richer than the richest Crassus, at least build one church, St. Peter's, with his own money rather than that of the poor faithful? -If the pope wished the methods of the abla8 preachers, he would rather see St. Peter's Church fall into ashes than see it built with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep." Or: "Therefore, if the AblaB were preached according to the spirit and opinion of the pope, these {objections) would all dissolve without further ado, indeed they would not exist at all {facile illa omnia soluerentuq immo non essent).

Luther was opposed to the papacy in his early writings, isolated positive, and he still testifies to the fact that

* 545, Before the AblaBstreit - to have been "a downright fanatical monk and a completely senseless papist", a man who, as he confesses• s i ®, was powerfully fascinated by the name of the pope and considered him a

instrument of the Holy Spirit.

As late as the fall of i J 7, Luther seems to be ready in the 8i. Thesis ready,

-to protect the pope's reputation from malicious criticism or even from the laypeople's sophistical questions". And the very next year he wrote to Leo X himself that although he could not recant, he wanted to hear

the Pope's voice - like the voice of Christ, who presides and speaks in him. Yes, he affirms: - Revive me,

kill me, call, call back, confirm, reject, as you please!"

In the meantime, however, the shady spirit, the man of unhealthy contrasts and contradictions' had, with lightning speed and, according to the fire of his temperament, increasingly irritated, put some writings into the world, he had first hurled among the people in German - Ein Sermon von dem AblaB und Gnade- and almost simultaneously among the learned guild the Latin "Resolutiones disputationis de virtute induigentiariim . In these vehement attacks on the AblaB, however, the new doctrine of faith and cinade can already be heard. And in the letter to Leo X, he wanted to hear the pope's voice like that of Christ, he declared in the Revolutio- ns that what the pope liked or disliked made no impression on him at all. The pope was "a man like other men. There have been many popes who liked not only errors and burdens but also monstrosities. I listen to the Pope as Pope, i.e. how he speaks in the laws of the Church and decides according to them or with the Council, but not when he speaks according to his head."

In September he still affirms in the dedication
of the Epistle to the Galatians to love not only the Roman Church, but the whole Church of Christ, assures in detail that this love forbids separation from Rome, even calling the Pope
-State Governor Christie. But as early as February 4, i5zo, after reading Hutten's edition of Laurentius Valla's Donation of Constantine, he writes that he -almost no longer doubts that the Pope is the expected Antichrist. Luther's final break with Rome followed in this year.

And from now on, the Reformer - unquestionably one of the greatest creators of the German language and trumping every representative of -Grobianism - of his time - speaks differently about the Holy Fathers, even if the tone is truly not new in principle, but rather vividly recalls the intimacy with which Christians, apostles, church fathers and bishops expressed their love for their neighbor even in antiquity, indeed in the New Testament (I3 , chap.!),

For Luther, from then on and until the end of his life, the -Statt-

Christie a man who does -all evil-, -possessed by the devil", "the devil's bishop and the devil himself-, -a desperate blasphemer and idolatrous devil-, -a mummer and incarnate devil", even -the filth that the devil has shat into the church-. He scolds the pope, still i 5 i 8 "the voice of Christ for him, - shitty" and -shitted out, - robber", - monster", • Rat king", -animal", -wild beast-, "dragon and hellish dragon", - beast of the earth , reviles him -erpestilential monster-, -spitalic, stinking maggot bag", -pope's donkey", -pope's sow-. The domestic animal from the donkey to the pig is almost completely represented in his maledictology (Mühlpfordt) and the

"Sau" in his Schirnpfinventar is almost a favorite term for Gegnet - Doctor Eck figures as -Saueck-, Duke Georg as -Dresdener Sau", the Council Fathers of Constance are altogether

"sows" etc. Luther not only mentions the Papsrtum, but also

"Bishoprics, abbeys, monasteries, high schools with all their clericalism, ministry, nunnery, masses, services, vain vaporized souls of the devil", the papacy in particular - the devil's most poisonous abomination - and Rome - "a dwelling place of dragons, an abode of all unclean spirits", - full of miserly idols, perjurers, apostates, sodomites, priapists, murderers, Simonists and other innumerable monsters.

CHOtl *5* J" " Lewis for him, and he is unlikely to be very that the Pope and Cardinal Cardinals have not dusted anything". -What business is it of Pop's prayers and God's word? He must serve *his god, the* devil. But that is the least of it ... The most annoying basic soup of all devils in hell is that he uses such force that he wants to have power to set laws and articles of faith ... . He roars as possessed and full of devilry ... For the *devil, who* founded the papacy, speaks and works everything through the pope and the Roman throne.

One would think that there could hardly be any improvement, and yet at the end of his life, in the pasquill -Wider das Papsttum zu Rom, vom Teuffel gestiftet - (Against the papacy in Rome, founded by the devil), he heaps invective upon invective upon invective on the "deputy Chri- sti", a true Christian evangelical, as - Das Häupt der verfluchten Kirchen allerärgesten Buben auf Er-

a governor of devilry, an enemy of Gort, an adversary of Christ and destroyer of the churches of Christ, a teacher of all lies, blasphemies and idolatries, an arch-church thief and church robber ... a murderer of kings and an inciter to all kinds of bloodshed; a whoremonger of all whoredoms and fornication ... an anti-Christian, a man of sins and a child of perdition, a real bear, and again wishes with all evangelical warmth that one should "take the pope, cardinal, and whatever is in the spirit of his idolatry and papal holiness, and . ... rip out their tongues and hang them on the gallows ...-'-.

We will at best only occasionally touch on the now beginning and increasingly escalating bickering of the old and new believers, the flood of exuberant disputes, letters, prophecies, utopias, pamphlets and leaflets, but not on the beginning of the age of the Reformation - an age characterized by Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff and marked by Ranke's German History in the Age of Reformation.

formation" { i 83qfi 84 3) - even remotely continuous. And just as little ver-

we follow the life of the reformer himself chronologically: his law studies, which he soon abandoned ("-fulmen Dei", "-God's voice"), his entry - after a lightning strike next to him - into the Augustinian Hermit House in Erfurt, the strictest of the six monasteries there; i5oy¡ the trip to Rome, still without annoyance, i yio; the professorship for biblical exegesis i y i z in Wittenberg (which he then retained throughout his life).

For the next few years, Luther was still completely unknown in the world. However, after the Ablafi- controversy broke out in i 5 i6, the Roman proceedings on suspicion of heresy began in i 5i 8, the interrogation (opened with the Ablafi question) by Cardinal Cajetan, the legate entrusted with the causa Lutheri, took place after the Diet of Augsburg and the refusal to recant. In the summer of i y iq, the Leipzig debate with Johannes Eck of Ingolstadt, Luther's strongest theological opponent, takes place at Pleißenburg Castle. i y zo Eck personally delivers the bull of excommunication from Rome - "Exsurge Domine" with the citation of

4• °Errores Martini Lutheri-, which -offend the ears, seduce simple minds-, but which pu- Luther {compared to a -wild boar from the forest-, an even -wild animal").

Eck and Emser and published them in t h e same year on December to. On the same December, he publicly burned it on the Wirtelsberg Schindanger with scholastic treatises, books of Canon law valid under imperial law and a dozen writings by his opponents Eck and Emser. -The mangy monk enjoys it!" shouted Luther's colleague, admittedly belonging to the legal profession, a species he was known to hold in particularly low esteem, "drudges", "tongue-thrashers", mostly also "servants of the Pope", "evil Christians". And the next day Luther declared that it was not enough just to burn them, it was necessary to burn the pope, i.e. the papal chair.

Whereupon, after much hesitation, on January 3, z5 zı with the bull

-Decet Romanum Pontificem", the excommunication by Leo X. the imperial ban by the emperor, the Edict of Worms, on the return journey from Worms the mock abduction by the sovereign Elector Frederick the Wise to Wartburg Castle, where Luther created his "-opus proprium" as "eJø j- ker Jörg", his literary feat, not infrequently relativized by recent research, which places him, as freely probably even more so his pamphlet, in which he himself sees a centerpiece of his work, places him alongside œthe and Nietzsche *as a* linguistic pioneer, the translation of the New Testament not from the Latin Vulgate, which had been in use until then, but from Greek into German - Luther's -corrupt do1matization-, as the Catholic Duke George of Saxony says.^

Luther's theo- logic, which, as we know, begins with his fear of not doing enough for God, with his agonizing, even pathological search for a merciful God, begins with the problem of how he, as a sinner, could appear righteous before God's judgment. Even if the terms -sinner-, -God-, -judgment- (or the formulas -sola fide-, -sola gratia-, -solus Christus-) would have something to say in such a context íand in general), sic do not belong to our subject area, unless for the demonstration that there with

operates with nothing but unknowns, so that the world and he himself, who is deeply entangled in his delusion of sin and often Bc- sought by the devil, is made to see an X for a U, but this cannot be de- monstrated - for many, however, his "greatest and lasting achievement" {Tannenberg! J.

Of course, we do not care about Luther's famous doctrine of the two kingdoms set out in his treatise On Worldly Authority, an old and clumsy theological trick (almost too clumsy to call it that), his strict differentiation between spiritual and worldly government, "divina and politica", but also between the other relationships of Christ, which are all inextricably linked and related to each other. Such dualistic confrontations already exist mutatis mutandis in the Old Testament, in St. Paul, St. Augustine and the medieval doctrine of the two swords. And this distinction, which is not a divorce, also exists between the areas of the
"homo interior- and -exterior". With Augustine, as with Luther, it is sharp and unconditional, but at the same time invisible and never to be fixed (H. Bornkamm), so it is simply wonderful for theologians to swim around in it as the purpose demands, an ideal terrain that can be interpreted according to the situation, since it is extremely variable, always according to the need for opposition. Under the fascists, when it was no coincidence that the concept of the two kingdoms theory was booming, German Lutherans used it to reject resistance to Hitler, while Norwegian and Danish Christians used it to justify their opposition. In the USA, the two kingdoms theory was used to defend slavery as well as the struggle for freedom of the black communi- ties.

What interests us is only the criminal aspect, that is to say the most prominent, the main aspect in the bloody jumble of history. And here we concentrate on four key points, on Luther's agitational-demagogic demonization of the peasants, the "heretics", the witches and the Jews. Each event is equally horrific, equally abhorrent, but perhaps the most fatal, because it had the greatest historical impact, was the suppression of the Armenians.

i z. CHAPTER

IT IS CALLED REFORMATION

Lucher exposes the myths as fairy tales. He read the Bible legends; he also read the belief in the devil, ern Witchcraft, too; the extermination of heretics, too; anti-Semitism, too; military service, serfdom, the princes. It is called the Reformation.

THE REF OITMATO R LETS THE BUILDERS LAUGH O R - A N D I N FALSE FACTS OF THE LUTH ERS -

Since the early Christian social uprisings at the end of antiquity, the church has always been on the side of the oppressors against the vast majority of people, the peasants. In the Christian Western world, which makes them first serfs, then serfs, they have a legal nature almost like cattle, they can be inherited, given away, sold, exchanged, can be maltreated miserably, fleeced to the utmost, they have to obey ut codes for life. Around i 3oo, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights Siegfried von Feuclitwangen, as he says, doesn't like a biscuit if he hasn't let a few peasants hang beforehand.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the most diverse forms of protest and resistance against their secular and ecclesiastical landlords, passive resistance, refusal of services and taxes, emigration, flight, unrest, uprisings, and, as the Middle Ages progressed, revolts and peasant rebellions in Norway, Denmark, England, Normandy, Flanders, Hungary and Switzerland (cf. Chapter 3).

On the German side alone - where at the time around three quarters of i z or I3 million people lived in the countryside, some personally free, some unfree and even serfdom - there w e r e forty uprisings in the i 5th century, with a steadily increasing ten- dency and a coexistence that often spanned both classes and estates.

operation. And from these preliminary uprisings a mass social movement then developed which, ultimately to its ruin, was not coherent, not cohesive, but regionally fragmented; whereby it was not the lowest, the most impoverished class of peasants who set the tone, but the middle and upper classes of peasants, who sought their right to self-government in the face of increased dependence on the rulers.

Even if a whole tangle of confiicts of various kinds
the German Peasants' Warl• s•‹—• iz6), it is nevertheless worth noting that, at least in some areas, the clergy, who were often struggling for their very existence, had a special
the largest landowner. After all, "the people's aversion to the clergy" was virtually a cause of the building war (Gerdes), and this was also a "religious uprising of the people, a 'revolt of faith' (Oberman).

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, perhaps the leading scholar of his time until the emergence of Luther, referred to the Peasants' War simply as the Peasants' War and the Monastery War.

i¢6o the peasants of Kempten revolt against their abbot. *476 i 6 ooo peasants demonstrate at night with torches in front of the Fe-
Marienberg of their Würzburg chief shepherd, who fired cannons at them. -And many of the people were slain and stabbed to death-, it says in the Würzburg Council Chronicle, -also caught on io4 persons ungraceful wins {= without mercy) uf Unserfrauenberg.

*4 5 the Bundschuh movement in Schlettstadt particularly fought against the ecclesiastical courts, -4 so the Augsburg peasantry fought against their
bishop Friedrich von Hohenzollern. -4s3 was the slogan of the Alsatian Bundschuh, in which, as was not uncommon elsewhere, peasant and bourgeois resisters came together, demanding above all the abolition of the Strasbourg bishop's court and the imperial court at Rottweil: - Locet, what kind of a world is this? We may not recover from priests and nobility.

The hatred of the clergy was also very pronounced in the Bruchsal Bundschuh under the restlessly active Joss Fritz, a bodyguard of the Bishop of Speyer, a motor-mouthed martyr.

The local Bundschuh had virtually emerged from this hatred. About ioo rebels were arrested, ten were beheaded and quartered. - The Bundschuh, the customary footwear of the peasants, became the symbol of their freedom movement.

Even when the Bundschuh r y i 3 spread to Breisgau and the "Poor Conrad" under Peter Gais shook parts of Württemberg the following year, strong anti-clerical tendencies were expressed and the peasants - thirteen were executed - no longer wanted to be put before ecclesiastical judges, They wanted to see the church and monastery property distributed justly, they wanted "divine justice" not only for the peasants but, as the twelve articles state, "for themselves and the other Christians".

The Memmingen "Twelve Articles of the Peasantry in Swabia" from the end of February x y zy, the most important manifesto of the insurgents, which was still circulating in ElsaQ and Thuringia and was distributed in at least zy printings with approx. ay ooo copies, the insurgents' most important manifesto, which expressly emphasized their willingness to oppose the authorities in all due and Christian matters, was directed far more against bishops and prelates than against the secular landlords, as it too was primarily a religious revolt against the ecclesiastical establishment {Oberman).

Significantly, at the beginning of the modern era, when the serfdom was mitigated here and there, abolished completely, but elsewhere tightened or introduced for the first time, monasteries also extended the territorial rule favoring serfdom, as it was also called, such as St. Georgen, Weingarten, Einsiedeln, Salem, St. Peter in the Black Forest or Kempten in the Allgäu, the largest landlord of the area. This abbey in particular, whose documents stated: -Die Leibeigenschaft ist nit wider göttlich oder menschlich gesatz -, tried to force its peasants into serfdom with a forged letter of grant from Charles I. She harassed them throughout the r y. It is said to have tortured them arbitrarily, and around i 5oo the prince abbot made iaoo Zinser his own in the most perfidious way. (i yzs contains the so-called blood book of the abbey7i names
of rebellious peasants and ringleaders).

ith all their anger at the clergy, the medieval peasants were thoroughly pious, believers in Christ, pilgrims, venerators of the saints, and were now also a religious, a religious-social movement, and they probably already wanted to join with the -Pfeifer von Niklashau- sen-, Hans B<- hem, who was burned as a heretic in ' 73 - Würzburg, but certainly in the Bundschuh von x y oz of Joss Fritz "nothing but the justice of God -. The Allgäu articles, beginning "In fihristo Jesu dear brothers", know that they are united - in the holy gospel and in the word of God and in the holy law - and want to stand by each other until death, - for we are brothers iii Christ Jesus, our Savior". And the last article of the Memmingen Manifesto reads, significantly, in unmistakable reference to Luther's refusal to recant at the Diet of Worms i 5zi: -If one or more articles should be established here, which are not according to the word of God: ... the same articles should be shown to be improper on the basis of the word of God, then we would refrain from them, if we are given proof with reasons from the Scriptures.

The peasants united as a "Christian congregation", disputing They were known as a "Protestant brotherhood", a "Christian evangelical army", and their banners bore images of the crucified Christ and the name of Jesus. One flag of the Bundschuh not only showed a crucifix, but also the Madonna, the Baptist, the Emperor and the Pope, as well as a peasant kneeling before the cross and the inscription: Lord, stand by your divine righteousness!" There were farmers' camps where whores were not allowed to enter, but sermon services were ordered every day. Indeed, the Württemberg peasant leader Matern Feuerbacher, admittedly an outsider who even issued letters of protection to nobles and clergymen, demanded preaching twice a day.

Radical forces also came to the fore, men who wanted to see all benefices reduced, church property abolished, only emperors and, of all people, the Pope recognized as lords or who, like the Odenwald farmers, laconically declared to the town of Tauberbischofsheim: "We want to be lords - not an isolated event.

The rebel Joss Fritz, whose character was impeccable, wanted to stop all taxes and interest, divide up the spiritual goods and abolish all rule. The statutes of this Bundschuh stated: "We want to break up all]ochs and serfdoms and free ourselves with weapons, because we want to be free like the Swiss. Never again will we tolerate authority over us and pay no one interest, tithes, taxes, duties and other levies, but will rid ourselves of all these burdens forever. We want to break the princes and nobles by force and drive them out or kill them, along with all the priests and monks; we want to divide their goods." The Tyrolean provincial ordinance of the former episcopal secretary Michael Gaismaip, which no longer mentioned the sovereign and demanded "ain ganze Glaichait im Land" (a whole justice in the land), proved to be no less radical. Gaismaip died in 53a in Padua at the hands of hired assassins with the consent of the Innsbruck government.

Surprisingly, however, the majority of farmers and
The peasants were originally peaceful and willing to reconcile. At
the beginning of the great conflict in 5z5, hardly any of the
Weapons, exceptional situations aside. The riots, which often arose from various local causes, usually had a non-violent, not yet warlike character, served to demonstrate hardship, aimed to lift oppressive burdens, but as a rule did not seek outrage or overthrow by force of arms. This is also expressed by various peasant groups, the Baltringer Haufen {which, however, bitterly opposed to the Swabian League's stalling negotiations, which were only a sham for the peasants, opened the actual Peasants' War by burning down the manor of Schemmerberg), the Kempten peasants, the Black Forest Article Letter, the Allgäu Articles. They tried to resolve the conflict through negotiation and legal means, concluding many treaties, including with the Archbishopric of Mainz, agreements that were not always meant seriously, especially as the nobility speculated on gaining time and the peasants did not accept every offer. However, they brought their legal, social and ecclesiastical wishes - on an overall

a high and debatable denominator. They were essentially concerned with living in legally secured political freedom under laridesherrli- chliche Obergewalt" {Handbook of European History te).

At first, things did not look too bad for them. Although they were considerably less well led, not experienced in war, strategically weak, the individual bands were often well organized militarily, at least partially satisfactorily equipped, and undoubtedly outnumbered. They were also supported by rural workers, miners, craftsmen and parts of the urban lower classes. Several princes even proved to be understanding, willing to negotiate and hesitated for a long time to break their agreements.

Luther, who also saw the misery of many farmers, their overwork, the

Tax pressure, the arbitrariness of officials, not only knew, but also seemed to recognize the justification of their protest, first of all, in his writing "Exhortation to Peace on the Twelve Articles of the Peasantry in Swabia", he massively attacks all exploiters who "so -schatzen und schinden", "die leute so vntreglich beschweren-. -First of all, we must not call anyone to account for such evil and rebellion, except you princes and lords, especially you blind scoundrels and mad clerics and Munich, whom you are still hiding today and who do not cease to rage and rage against the holy gospel.

Although they think they are still firmly in the saddle, Luther writes, he cannot and will not tolerate their rage, they must change, they must give way to the word of God either in a friendly or violent manner, either through these or other peasants.

"And even if you beat them all / they are still beaten / God will awaken others." And in general: "It is not the bawry f dear Lords / who sit you down again / it is God himself f who sits you down again / to seek your welfare.

Luther also finds "some of the Twelve Articles of the Peasants fair and right". A n d the other articles, he admits, "are also fair and right". Of course, the peasants, his "dear lords and brothers", his "dear friends", continue to pay the large tithe.

but not the small one, he calls -eytel raub vnd of- deutliche strauch dieberey-. He rejects the struggle of the enslaved against serfdom even more, which was at the forefront of all peasant grievances - after all, of the 5,5o individual complaints analyzed by54 , go percent concerned serfdom (83 percent the manorial lordship,7 percent the judicial lordship), with the peasants saying,

Christ has liberated all people. Of course, this is what the Reformaror even listen to it, it is called -Christian liberty to make it completely fleyschlich.- And even a bad authority, teaches Luther, is no license for -rotterey nor rebellion". Rather, it is up to the authorities, as it is not exactly logical, as it is called theologically, to "punish the evil", every soul must be subject to it "with fear and honor". Every Christian does not have to suffer rightly and justly, -but unjustly, and to suffer the evil -.]a, he brazenly scolds the peasants for being much bigger %ubers than their masters, for - The upper classes are not good to you / that's one thing. Therefore, you are much greater robbers than they are, and you have more to fear than they have done.'"

Did Luther get scared? Was his Protestant-Reformation protest in danger of slipping into other, purely secular, purely power-political channels? Was the religious outrage threatening to turn into social outrage, the reformation into revolution? And was he, Luther, perhaps involved in the uprising himself? Causally involved? Winfried Schutze states pointedly in his German history in the 6th century that without the preaching of the Gospel by the Reformation, no peasant war would have been possible.

That may or may not be - the Reformation, long prepared from England to Bohemia by John Wyclif and Jan Hus, the Reformation, a matter of faith, of religious needs, of anti-Roman opposition, the utilization of scholastic theology and papal church tyranny, an epochal European event promoted by many scholars, by humanists, by Melanchthon, by Hutten, the Reformation w a s united with the ßauem movement and its appeal to the Bible and -local law".

were clearly connected. Lurher's fundamental attack on the papacy, and the ripening force of his criticism, was bound to trigger an attack on other authorities. His impetuous, mercurial vigor had a signal effect and aroused enormous expectations, not only for the elimination of mental anguish, but also of material burdens, a change in society in general. The Wittenberg had summarized "the whole sum of a Christian life" in the term freedom, and this term appeared again in the pamphlets of the Peasants' War period - only Luther understood it "spiritually" and the peasants also understood it "carnally".

Even when Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, who fomented clerical hatred everywhere and encouraged the use of weapons, waged the "Peacock War" against the Archbishop of Trier Richard von Greifenklau, lost and both died soon afterwards, Lu- ther had already rejected the use of violence. He saw it as "sedition" and not "ordinary violence". But sedition, he wrote in his printed text "A faithful admonition to all Christians to beware of sedition and outrage", sedition is without reason and affects more innocent people than guilty ones. Therefore no riot is right, however right it may be.- But the **Lord** omnes, that is, the so-called common man, the little man, does not understand this, -strikes into the heap as it strikes, and

{This cannot happen without great, terrible injustice".

So if the "little man" strikes, it is always wrong, however right he is. If the "big man", the authority, strikes, it is always right, however wrong: the Christian "social doctrine" from Paul to Luther, right up to the present day. The "great ones", be they Constantine, Clovis, **Charles,** Hitler, Stalin or any other name, are allowed to murder and have people murdered, to cause monstrous bloodbaths, to wage world wars, to destroy entire peoples, and they were and are supported in this by all Christian churches, **according to** Paul, Luther and their ilk. And perhaps it is thought-provoking that one of the first known military leaders of the Bundeswehr, General Ulrich de Maiziere, confessed that it was Lutheran writings that inspired me, just six years after the end of the Second World War.

World War II, **have dared** to follow the call of the Federal Republic to participate in the armed forces".

At the beginning of May i$z, Luther hurls out his bĺutty writing -Against the predatory and murderous gangs of the Bauenis, in which he brusquely dismisses them, who, with reference to Genesis, would like to be free and equal, and abandons them to their butchers. For: in the New Testament "Moses is not valid, but there stands our Myster Christ". But if even our Christ teaches something against our Luther, then our Christ is not valid, but rather our Luther. If, for example, the authorities suddenly come down on the peasants and beat and punish them "without any prior plea for justice and fairness - that is, without any negotiation, then the reformer, who does not smell of blood, does not want to be - at all - although he of course knows very well that this is not at all the case.

-the Euarigelion does not leydet-.

Of course, the peasants commit -grewłiche sunden widder Gott vn Menschen -, are -eyri ewiger helĺebrand", yes, he no longer suspects any devils in hell, since they all lead into the peasants. For the peasants are -of the devil", do -eyttel teuffels werck", eh- ren, serve -dem teuffeł / vnter dem scheyn des Euangelij", are

-The "open streets are robbers and murderers", "run like ravening dogs", which is why they must be beaten to death like a dead dog, they must be thrown and stabbed - whether in public or in secret / whoever can - so not only the authorities should kill, should stab, not only the soldier, the criminal, no: anyone who can. You can see what is going on in this Christian, this God-fearing brain. Most and above all the worst things he throws at the heads of the "devils", the builders, rightly or wrongly, he mutańs mutańs mutańs himself.

Yes, the peasants are "trewlose / meyneydige vngehorsame f auf- frurissche morder / reuber / GöttsĺesterER", people who "den tod ver- dienet haben / an łeybe vnd seeĺe manichfeltiglich-, - vielfalliig .... . deserved death", "probably ten times death ... in body and soul", a pack that even the pagan authorities would punish, indeed inuB, because they would bear the sword for it, just as they would all the more naturally bear ai

Prince of Christians, a minister of God and servant of his wrath, -which is hard to believe about such boys-.

For the peasants have -evil consciences and right things ..., but the rulers have a good conscience and right things"! And if the prince dies against Edie vbelthetter-, he dies under divine command, right: urtter his. So Luther puts into the head of the prince, his patron and defender, with whom his cause, the Reformation, stands or falls, what is in his own head, his "right cause". "Therefore I will shine and sleep as long as I can rain a vein. And expressly insists that patience or mercy are not the order of the day here. It is a time of sorrow and wrath here / and not a time of grace - and coins the memorable sentence, which would probably sound strange again in the mouth of his Lord Jesus Christ: -Such wondrous times are now, that a prince can earn heaven by shedding blood, better than others by praying.

In this way, Luther is able to use one of his most disgusting products-se - among many disgusting ones - once again incite everyone {!) to massacre the miserable peasants: "Therefore, dear sirs, redeem here, save here, help here. Have mercy on the poor people: stab, beat, strangle here whoever you can. If you remain dead over it, good for you, you can never find a more blessed death. For you die in obedience divine word and command ..,q9

Goethe once spoke of those Christians who come here in sheep's clothing, but inside they are ravening wolves. Luther comes as a ravening wolf! Nevertheless, the hypocrisy does not disappear: it is in the details, in a thousand details.

Of course, a man like him still confesses to his step when, as he hears, the poor people are treated so horribly. He finds it right, necessary, -and Gotr wants it too ... if not, Satan kills much more trouble, one misfortune is better than the other ... again and again, he writes like this in letters of the]ahr i y z5, ironic, cynical, self-important. Yes, there's not much mercy for the builders here; let the guns go under them, otherwise they'll make things a thousand times worse". And now again: "It is high time that they were strangled like the mad

Dogs!" I am of the opinion that it is better that all the peasants be slain than the princes and authorities, because the peasants take the sword from God without violence, and all the clever ones who do not want to understand him may remain ignorant, and those who do not want to know may remain ignorant. It is enough that my conscience is filled with Christ.'°

And just as he knows that his conscience is pleasing to Christ, so he knows

in his letter about the "hard booklet against the peasants", and his writing "God pleases". For the reformer, however, a rebel is not worthy of a reasonable response. "With the fist one must reply to such men / that the sword has gone out to the noses / is as necessary to the people / as eating and drinking f ia as life itself". Therefore, as far as the echoing / obdurate / blinded bau- ren are concerned, he writes, as he wrote then, even now, -just don't take pity on anyone / but rather / have / stab f sausages / beat three / as among the mad dogs / whoever can f and how he can and, and, in another place, -whoever can first / and should not take care / that he commits murder / but he becomes a murderer / who wants to murder the whole country. Yes, if he does not stab and murder, but only lets the master stab, he is also a murderer". For the rest, he concludes with the hypertrophically insane self-confidence that he probably really has, -sol recht bleyben /was ich lere vnd schreibe / sollt auch alle welt druber bersten -

The chronicled accounts of the Peasants' War come (almost) without exception from the side of the lords and are colored accordingly. Certainly the peasants from the Alps to Franconia, where they fought and lived most savagely and were particularly harassed by the bishops, as far as Thuringia and the Harz mountains, burned down or otherwise destroyed many hundreds of castles, palaces and monasteries, In the diocese of Bamberg alone, they plundered almost i 5o, of course, including the monastery of Abbot HieronymuS Duke of Elchingen three times, ravaged the houses of clerics and robbed places of pilgrimage, such as the Franconian Viertehnheiligen. They destroyed works of art in the churches, tore up documents, tore up books that they could not read anyway, they shouted in

The monks were the ones who broke the organ pipes, got senselessly drunk on wine in the monastery cellars, but they hardly committed any actual bloody deeds, only killing people who had behaved particularly cruelly against them during the battle or who had betrayed them. *

In the few major battles in May and June r5 z5 they were hopelessly defeated, occasionally almost without opposition9 their ruin was total, hardly any of their leaders escaped.

As late as May 3, Luther had strongly advised Duke John against agreeing to the Twelve Articles.

• I, however, completely and utterly oppose it, and he should not be turned into a savage." A day or two later, Luther urged the Mansfeld **councilor** Rühel not to stop the count from taking action against the builders, who were nothing more than robbers and murderers, as it was a good, divinely ordained right to use the sword against the

• Evil- to need, -as long as a vein stirs in the body". On

g. His hate-filled cry against the rapacious and murderous riots of the peasants is heard on May 1, in which he declares falling princely mercenaries to be true martyrs, but to massacre the peasants is to massacre them as - cannot be more poisonous, more harmful, more diabolical than a rebellious man, as if you had to beat a mad dog to death, if you do not beat it, it will beat you and a whole country with you ...". -"

*4• i the army of Thomas Müntzer's peasants from Rhenish Franconia are defeated by troops of the princes of Hesse, Saxony and Brunswick with a few volleys of gunfire.

completely destroyed. -Come Holy Spirit, Lord God-, sang the peasants, 5ooo of them died miserably, allegedly only six opponents, and Luther still defames the dead Müntzer, for Heinrich Heine one of the "most heroic and unfortunate sons of the German fatherland", as "the devil incarnate" and wishes once again, "how high time it is that they are strangled like mad dogs".

On iq. May, the peasants near Zabern under Duke Anton of Lorraine are massacred by mostly Spanish mercenaries - despite promises of protection, i 8,ooo people are said to have voluntarily disarmed themselves, including women and children.

On June x, the cavalry of Truchsefi von Waldburg attacks a large rebel mob near Königshofen in Franconia;4 ooo peasant corpses lie on the battlefield that evening. Only a few
Days later, Jooo farmers lose their lives near Sulzdorf (south of Würzburg).'-

The total number of people killed in the war is estimated to be between 7s Ooo and well over too ooo. And after the fighting was over, the lords or their beadles roamed the countryside, pillaged, imposed heavy fines and let heads roll.

In Eisenach, mg ringleaders were executed in early summer, and a little later, on June xa. June, on the market in Jena zo death sentences were carried out. Landgrave Philipp von Hessen reports the execution - i oo evil men -. Bamberg's Bishop Weigand von Redwitz had beheaded i3 rebels at the market, had the suburb of Hallstadt burnt down as the seat of the outrage and then went around his diocese dictating fines and further death sentences. The head shepherd of Würzburg was no different, traveling through his diocese for months, taking money and heads. And two dozen guilders in compensation, payable in two years. It goes without saying that all the "victims" of the conflict have now been amply comforted; some of them soon received beautiful new castles and palaces for their old torn-up rat's nests. In Würzburg, however, -on ayn day 66 one is judged with the sword.

Margrave Kasimix of Ansbach had the Protestant preacher Dr. Johann Teuschlein, the blind monk Hans Schmid and i § peasant leaders in Rothenburg ob der Tauber cut off their heads on the market square, in Kitzingen 6o citizens had their eyes gouged out, - they were circumvented like unreasonable animals, are much
of them died". In Langensalza,4• heads fall. After the defeat of Pfedersheim near Worms, the Count Palatine has the death sentence carried out on 8o rebels. At Überlingen
4 , beheaded near Schlerrstadt 3oo. After the Battle of Böblingen, ProfoB Berthold Aichelin, Truch- seB's favorite henchman, roamed the country with his playmates and is said to have beheaded or hanged the iooo rebels. In Stuttgart and
Several priests were also hanged in Cannstatt,

others beheaded and some women had their tongues cut out. In the territory of the Swabian League alone, the number of people executed at the end of i ya6 was estimated at io ooo.'-.

The failure of the Peasants' War was one of the most momentous events in German history, not only for the peasants, who continued to be oppressed, belittled and despised for centuries as a result, but for the Germans and Germany as a whole. Karl Marx therefore called the Bauem War the "most radical act in German history", Friedrich Engels the "greatest attempt at revolution by the German people". However, the most apt word with regard to the conflict and Martin Luther in particular probably comes from Luther himself, namely the word with which he calls Z§33 preachers "the greatest manslayers" and adds: "I have slain all the peasants in revolt. For I have slain them to death. All their blood is on my neck." The fact that he then, in the old priestly manner, assigns the blame to his -God- who
-Whether Luther believed it or not, he can leave it at that."

THE " KETZER ' WILL EUJvf
• KETZ ER -JÄG ER

Luther's path led from the tolerance of the reformer to the intolerance of the churchman, the founder of the Lutheran national church. His attitude initially unfolded in his confrontation with the papal church; at first, it seemed as if he was advocating toleration even in the face of the latter's murderous rabidness. Then, at times, he almost identifies his cause with the former heretics. It is not they who are being judged who are -heretics-, but the popes who are -burning today-. In general, he criticizes the Pope's misuse of the female sword, which makes him "not a loving father, but in a sense a terrible tyrant" - in that we see nothing but violence from him everywhere.

The gospel should be proclaimed free from all coercion and everyone should only follow their conscience. Luther is in favor of unrestricted freedom of teaching and worship. More passionately than any other reformer, he called for tolerance towards Catholics and new heresies. He condemned the burning of "heretics" i y i 8 and i y zo; "heretics" should be "overcome with writings, not with fire". The following year, he also preached: "No one should be forced to believe, but everyone should be encouraged to keep the gospel and to believe, but to follow or not to follow *the will of* God. - i y z3 he admonishes: - 'The authorities should not oppose what anyone wants to teach and believe, be it the gospel or a lie.'- And as late as July i 5z8, he answers the question of his old friend Wenzeslaus Link as to whether the authorities should kill false prophets: -I cannot concede that false teachers should be condemned to death.

In particular, Luther rejected execution and, of course, the Inquisition - which, however, was soon reintroduced, even under this name, against both clergy and laity and often resulted in dismissal and exile. Just as the reformer also adopted the punishment of excommunication from the church and, for example, excommunicated the mayor of Wittenberg, Hans Metzsch, for immorality. However, until the end of the 1920s, he declared that dealing with heresy was not a matter for secular jurisdiction, but for the congregation. This could

-punish, correct, expel or banish. But then he sees in -heresy- a -crimen publicum- and demands the death penalty for it." Certainly, Luther once seemed to be tole- rant all around, peacefully minded, he had heteuerr: - It is against the Holy Spirit to burn heretics - and - To wage war against the Turks is to resist God, who afflicts our injustices through them. - But both sentences, understandably condemned by the Roman bull of excommunication, were also abandoned by Luther. For when he realized that he could not convince heretics, he appealed to the secular authorities against them and became the - heretic - heretic - hunter, even if he liked to be restrained as required and not infrequently became entangled in contradictions.

Müntzer was right when *he* said of him that he carried a "shitty humility" in front of him, but -he rushes and drives like a hellhound. For like the papal church, the Refor- mator also needed the state, he needed war and the -fight against heretics. -He demonized the peasants, the Turks and the Jews in the literal sense, clearly provable, and called for them to be treated as devils - and by no means only as secular enemies" (Müller-Streisand).

For Luther, his -gospel- was the -right gospel- and everything that opposed it was -heresy||. It was simply contrary to his way of thinking to respect the convictions of others as equally valid. This attitude was powerfully encouraged by his belief in the truth, in only one truth, a single truth, which he was the only one to have recognized, his firm conviction! And, of course, he considered it to be the only one that could "save us all".

Without question, much in Luther is no more than a seductive slogan, a "party program", as in Paul, even more so in Augustine, who also so passionately excluded any compromise in the Christian mission, the teaching of other believers, and then so eloquently promoted it (I479 ff!). "Non-violent through the word alone", it says in the Gonfessio Augustana, - Sine vi humana sed verbo".

Luther forbids violence at times. He demands patience with dissenters, with people of other faiths, he demands freedom of doctrine. But he demands it from his Catholic opponents, and he demands it only until his doctrine prevails, his sole beatification. Then, since there is only one truth, other doctrines must remain silent.

The statutes of the theological faculty in Wittenberg, written by Melanchthon with Luther's consent, strictly commanded teachers to present "pure doctrine". However, if someone stubbornly defended the "false views", he was to be punished with such severity that he could no longer spread the bad opinions. The head of this faculty was Martin Luther without interruption from x§ 3 until his death.

teachers had to be punished because the reformer did not mentally - could overcome. So since i 5*4 he demanded the pre

He was a strong advocate of the authorities' use of force against dissidents if they had caused sedition or spread rebellious ideas, and considered imprisonment to be an appropriate punishment. He first ousted Karlstadt from Wittenberg and then, despite the latter having distanced himself from the use of violence in the meantime, had him expelled from Kurfürstendamm with his family Jaq.
Saxony and persecuted him until* 54• died of the plague in BaseĺEven more so was the great rebel Thomas Müntzer, who wanted to realize the kingdom of God on earth with violence.
fels for Luther for -the spiritless, soft-living flesh of Wittenberg-, as Müntzer mocked, who was then captured, tortured and executed in the Peasants' War.

Luther still s p o k e out against the death penalty in şa8. However, from i ylo onwards, the reformers no longer differentiated between rebellious and merely false-teaching heretics", so that the death penalty was imposed on the one as well as the other. "The numerous executions of even those Anabaptists who were demonstrably not rebels, and who were killed precisely on the basis of those normative declarations of the Wit- tenberg theologians, speak too clearly against all such attempts to deny the clear fact t h a t Luther himself approved the death penalty for mere heretics" (Wappler).

In February iy3o, Luther declared himself in favor of the death penalty in a letter to Justus Me- nius and Friedrich Mykonius. When he received the (erroneous) news in the same year that the anti-Trinitarian Johannes Carnpanus had been executed as a "heretic" in Liège, he wrote: -I have heard this with joy (laetus audivi)." At about that time he also advised that the -Wiøke1 preachers- of the Anabaptists should be handed over to the right-wing master, who was called Master Hans (executioner). This was not a hyperbole to be taken entirely seriously - it was only on January i 8, I y30 that "Moister Hans - had killed six Anabaptists in Reinhaidsbrunn near Gotha. And i y3 i Luther put his name to a report written by Melanchthon at the theological faculty in Wittenberg, which demanded the death penalty for Anabaptists if they advocated seditious ideas, condemned property, oaths, interest etc. or rejected the public preaching ministry.

With Luther's beginnings as a reformist, with his fight against

The so-called "swarmers", the Anabaptists who emerged from medieval heretical traditions, opposed papism.
(pejoratively called Anabaptists by their opponents). Luther and Zwingli, these two, it says in the Hutterite Chronicle, an Anabaptist writing, - opened up all the treachery and evil of papal holiness and brought it to light as if they wanted to "smash everything to the ground with thunderbolts". But they had, it is said, nothing better to do.
brought. Rather, it is as if someone is mending an old boiler (but) the hole only gets worse". A g a i n and again one hears from the Anabaptists that a doctrine which does not improve the Christian way of life is wrong, that "little good ... comes from the preaching of the Lutheran priests [but] all annoyance, freedom, excess, and is more evil and **worse** than the papacy - .

Anabaptism, which encompassed a plethora of religious groups without a unified theology, wanted to reconnect with early Christianity. It hoped for fundamental societal changes, rejected infant baptism, practiced the baptism of adults and was often associated with end-time expectations, which, incidentally, were also shared by Luther, who at times dated the end of the world to the year
x 53d, then longed for her-• 4• {"Come, dear youngest day", he wrote to his wife at the time). Of course, he also said: "It may still take a few years, five or six years.
re". But bls - s4 the world no longer exists - because Ezekiel is against it -. The great reformer even knew that the **end of the world**
will take place around Easter - early in the morning, after it will have thundered for an hour or a little longer ... -

Anabaptism emerged in the wake of the R#formation (soon to be fiercely opposed by it and by the Catholics) i 5 z5 in Switzerland, in Zurich, where Felix Manz, the first Anabaptist martyr, was drowned in the River Limmat as early as ann y. **January** i } ay Felix Manz, the first Anabaptist martyr, was drowned in the Limmat. It developed *t 5 z6* in Thuringia and Franconia, i 53o in the Netherlands and spread from Austria to the Baltic region, not least as a result of its continued persecution.

The longest-lived Anabaptist sect was formed on the basis of unconditional non-defense and community of goods under Jakob Hutter

from Tyrol { ry36 burned at the stake in Innsbruck) settled in Moravia, protected in some places by the nobility, who valued them as extremely peaceful and dil8igent workers, and still exists today in North America in around 35o colonies.

Probably the most spectacular but short-lived commune was the Anabaptist kingdom in Münster i y 3¢/i y 3 y, led by the preacher Bernd Rothmann, by Jan Matthys, previously leader of the Amsterdam Anabaptist community, then killed in the battle for Münster, led by his successor, the tailor Jan van Leiden {Bok- kelson) and the fiercely anticlerical cloth merchant Bernd Knipper- dollinck. The "New Jerusalem" was by no means a gutter regime, but perhaps even dominated by "the rich burghers" (Kirch hopedIn any case, all books were burned except the 8ibel, prak-
baptism, polygamy and a kind of planned economy.
not a complete community of property. In the event of internal opposition, heads were quickly rolled, while the Bishop Count of Waldeck ruled the enclosed town, expelled preachers were liquidated until lansquenets of the Reich took Münster by treachery. "Apart from the women, there were only a few prisoners" (Kirchner). After months of interrogation and torture, the leaders were executed on January i 536 with select cruelty using red-hot tongs and displayed in iron cages on the Lamberti church tower. Even far beyond this, "most of the Anabaptist leaders died a martyr's death" {Rabe).'°

For Luther, the Münster Anabaptist kingdom was a more peripheral event, which he dealt with little, actually only in passing. But since he saw the devil everywhere where people did not think and believe as he did (and even there!), he also saw in Münster - that the devil was living there in the flesh, and certainly one devil was sitting on top of the other, like the toads - and soon warned against straying i n t o Forcelian thoughts and riots,

At first, he wants to see the Anabaptists patiently endure, announcing full-bodied: "Let them only preach confidently and freshly!" But then he demands the death penalty for them, not only because of revolutionary assaults - especially as the fact is: "Most Anabaptists r e j e c t e d all violence" (Moltmann) - but also because of their

-doctrine, relying on the Old Testament accounts of the killing of false prophets. When his friend Johannes Bugenhagen, professor of theology in Wittenberg, demanded that -heretics-, the enthusiasts and sacramentarians, referring to Moses, be killed, Luther agreed: -Yes there is reason in the text: It is better to put away a man than God." And he also signed his name to an expert opinion by Melanchthon - the Reformation's fiercest advocate of capital punishment for the Anabaptists - which in the year r Jy i recommended the same atonement for their stubborn followers.

Since i y zq, since the Speyr Reichsrag, srand imperial law on -rebaptism" the death penalty. Since a Reichstag at which the -Protestants, whose hour of birth struck here, insisted on obeying their conscience alone in matters of faith, this right was taken away from those of other faiths - and their heads as well. Catholics and Protestants, beautifully united in an ocumenical manner, now declared the following imperial law: "Since a new sect of Anabaptists has also recently arisen, which is prohibited by general law, ... Her Majesty ... has issued a lawful constitution, statute and decree . ... that all Anabaptists and rebaptized persons, men and women, of reasonable age, shall be judged and brought from natural life to death by fire, sword, or the like, according to the occasion of the persons, without previous inquisition of the spiritual judges ... - As rebels and Anabaptists were to be killed as "heretics".

But as early as 15 7, persecution had begun throughout southern and central Germany and Duke Wilhelm of ßayern had ordered that anyone who recanted would be beheaded and anyone who did not recant would be burned. As early as i s 7, twelve men and one woman who had baptized each other were beheaded. I§3 i ten rebaptizers were massacred in The **Hague.** Further executions took place in i y3o, x 53 z, i y 38. The next year, the court of Wirtenberg wrote with regard to Anabaptists imprisoned in Eisenach that if they did not recant and be obedient, they would be executed with the sword from life to death for such blasphemy and because they had allowed themselves to be baptized elsewhere.

Anabaptists were imprisoned, some until they died in captivity, such as Melchior Hoffmann, a furrier from Schwäbisch-Hall who proselytized as far as Livonia and Stockholm.
after ten years in prison - s4 3 ended up in Strasbourg. Or they were followed, like the Anabaptist imprisoned in Austria, of whom we read: they clamped both thighs into a stick so hard,
that they baptized him, so that the mice carried away his toes from his feet before his eyes -. Others were beheaded or burnt, as they had been convicted of publicly denying important religious truths, even under Saxon law, as the
Saxon jurist Matthias Coler (d. i 5 71 *in his -Decisiones Germariiae- wrote that they were to be punished with death by fire (de iure saxonico cremandi veniunt); -before being burned, however, they had to be be questioned about their complicity in the torture so that the country be cleansed of these bad people.

The "swarmers", originally supporters, then opponents of Luther, were persecuted almost everywhere, "heated by wild animals" {by Bezold), and from place to place, from country to country. -Some were stretched and stretched out," it says in a chronicle of Moravian doves, "so that the sun could shine through them, some were torn apart and died of torture, some were burned to ashes and powder as heretics, Some were roasted on pillars, some were torn with red-hot tongs, some were locked up in houses and all burned together, some were hanged on trees, some were executed with the sword, strangled and beaten to death. Many had gags put in their mouths and their tongues tied so that they could not speak and answer for themselves. This is how they were led to death ... Like lambs they were led to the slaughter by the heap and murdered after the devil's own manner and nature."

Between i s ^7 >°d i $33, around seven hundred Anabaptists had already been eliminated as -heretics - or rebels, perhaps many more - tRabe), -they were executed en masse" {Moeller), according to more recent estimates two or three thousand men and women, and many thousands were imprisoned or expelled. In the territories of King Ferdinand I, which were rather reserved towards the Protestants

The persecution was fiercest in Exsisheim. After the first few years, the number of Anabaptists killed in Exsisheim w a s estimated at six hundred, in Tyrol and Graz at a thousand. Catholics and Protestants stood together, with Fugger providing funding. And in Electoral Saxony in particular, in contrast to Hesse, for example, the "Teuffel" were repeatedly liquidated. Zwingli also had some Anabaptists killed, while Calvin, who was particularly fierce in his fight against them, never demanded the death penalty against them.

The tendency towards aggravation is typical of Luther. And the more the disputes came to a head, especially with the "left" ("to the left", he says himself), with the -prophets- {whether he calls them heavenly or new or false or whatever), with the enthusiasts, the red-baiters, the Klüglingen, in short the rigorists, the radicals of the Reformation, the more he anathematized them, like the traditionalist -devils of course from the outset- and even more so. - Müntzer, Anabaptists, the pope, cardinal(s)" - all -devils' mouths.

After all, the Wittenberg man waged a war on two fronts and not only intervened in the fight against his reformist opponents, but also against the Old Believers when necessary, and this was usually the case, but only after a friendly approach. This was his principle for all practical religious measures: Tolerance, tolerance. Just no coercion.

For example, when it came to the appointment of a
Luther admonished the evangelical preacher Gabriel Zwillings: -You shall ..., as I have laid it to your heart, free consciences with words alone and insist on pure faith and love ... I promised the prince that you would do so." But when the canons of Altenburg tried to prevent Gemini's appointment, Luther, as usual, changed his tune. He now conceded them no right, interest, power, etc., no seal, no letters, no custom, - because they are publicly opposed to the Gospel". His gospel, of course, which he praised at the time:
"The word of God is a sword, is war, is destruction, is archery, is destruction, is poison and, as Amos says, like the bear

by the path and the lioness in the forest - he meant the canons:
-They should remain silent or teach the pure Gospel -, backed the Elector, whom he himself had promised a moderate approach, called on him to "resist false preachers"; he had to confront the wolves as a Christian prince" - and so it happened.

He took a similar approach to Johann Heinrich von Schwarzburg, who met with resistance from the monks when he introduced the new faith. When the unscrupulous count consulted him, he gave him a terse but sharp ruling that it was "not wrong, indeed the highest right, to chase the wolf out of the sheepfold.
give a preacher goods and interest so that he may do harm, but create the pious. If he does not create the pious, then *the* poor are *never his.* That's my short way of putting it - that's how the Reformation came to Schwarzburg.

And it was no different in Eilenburg, where Luther wrote to the lord of the land: *"It is incumbent on the prince as a Christian brother and also as a prince to* ward off the wolves and to be concerned for the salvation of his people."-*

The reformer primarily fought against the "Mefi sacrifice". The Mass was no longer to be a sacrifice, but "a sign and testament", an assurance of God's grace. However, the changes should be introduced carefully - without dishonoring love - and no one should **be offended**, as with liturgical innovations in general: "Do not do anything strange and do not go against the crowd." No, just no violence, only with the word, with preachers, with "pietas" and "charitas". - But no one should be torn apart with their hands, but rather they should give it to God and let his word alone work -

If the stubbornness i s too great, if something needs to be changed "or broken, be it images {already abolished by the Wittenbergers) "or whatever it is -, then one should turn to the - or- dinary power". And even that does not play along, as Frederick the Wise did when he abolished the mass at Wittenberg.
berger Allerheiligenstift r 5 i 5*4 (BEFORE Luther as "Bethaven - scorned, as "A11erteufelskirche-, "Stätte des GötzendiensteS-), so

even the Elector himself did not count, he might have thought that the fairs he and his ancestors had donated were held unfairly.

Luther now turned the troublesome affair into a matter of conscience. "My conscience can no longer remain silent about the Amre entrusted to me." And the consciences of his followers? I am talking to your conscience: What is the Elector's business with us in such matters?" And don't we have to obey God more than men? And so he continued to insist on the elimination of the anti-evangelical abominations, the papist evil. However, as the prince did not want any reforms for the time being, advocated a delay, was already displeased enough in Wittenberg, and also asked Luther to do what he would preach and teach himself, he did exactly the opposite. He mobilized lords, professors, mayors, councillors, judges, etc. along with all the people through appropriate sermons to abolish the mass as blasphemy and to save the glory of the Most High, -that the growing wrath of God should not be angry with you like an angry brook and punish you most severely with the abbotish priests. the elector complied*-

In Saxony, Catholics were systematically suppressed and banishment was the rule for those who did not renounce the faith. The visitators were expressly concerned with this in their "inquisition". In such contexts, Luther liked to refer to Moses, for whom he had nothing else in common. But when i y y 3 Lutherans were exiled from the duchy, he thundered against the "ducal tyrant", while after his death, at the time of his Lutheran-minded brother and successor Henry, he regretted that five hundred parishes and all the poisonous papists had not been chased away.

He bets against -the blasphemous idolatry'-, wants to

-*The Christian prince had to "drive the* people *to preaching for* the sake of the ten commandments" and also succeeded in making preaching under threat of punishment an official regulation in Electoral Saxony. The Christian prince must "ward off the *wolves*", "chase the wolf out of the sheepfold and

"for the *salvation of his soul* ... to forbid papist worship.

ten". David (cf. 1 8 y ff.!) had given him, the Christian prince for the

Role models - false teachers, idolaters, heretics must be expelled or "shut up".

Already i y zo Luther cried out, why don't we reach for the "these cardinals, these popes and the whole swarm of the Roman Sodoma, which is destroying the Church of God without end, with all weapons and wash our hands in their blood?- The Rhine does not have enough water, -the bulls, the Cardinals", -to drown the boys all- - b u t at Ostia the -Wäs- serlin", that is enough! And even at the end of his life he rages in a foaming rage that the abomination of destruction, he himself, the pope, the cardinals and all his idolatry and papal holiness, should be taken and, as blasphemers of God, their *tongues torn out of their necks* and nailed to the gallows in the row, just as they hang their seal on the bulls in the row ... -

Against the Anabaptists, Luther had written the little work -Dafi secular authorities were guilty of punishing the Anabaptists with corporal punishment, according to some concerns in Wittenberg". He never wrote his own treatise against witches. And yet they damaged him considerably more and for longer, his whole life.

Lu He R FOR D ERT TO T H E STRA F E FOR CUSTOMERS AND WITCHES

Even more than with other views, the reformer's belief in the existence of the clean and witches is deeply rooted in the Middle Ages, indeed in early and pre-Christian times (cf. p.

*

s71 And this crude magical complex is of course unmistakably and inseparably connected with a crazy delusion of the devil, a private idée fixe, w h i c h hardly anyone promoted more than Martin Luther on the threshold of modern times

Like late medieval man in general, he also grew
he grew up in a world filled with belief in Gort and the devil.
was, at least we have no indication to the contrary. The El

ters are pious, but not particularly ecclesiastical -and share all the superstitions of the time, especially a belief in the devil, which was also strongly influenced by Luther (A. van Dülmen). He had, writes Jean Delumeau, "always had an extraordinary fear of the devil", as he had been "brought up in fear of devils and witches". As he then - what a treacherous Christian slip of the tongue - urgently recommends himself: -Children should be taught to fear the dangers of the devil at an early age."'*

The young Luther must have been no more touched by fear of ghosts than other children; strange atmospheric occurrences, dubious apparitions in the sky and on earth, strange wind and water noises, a fluid of the uncertain, irritating, threatening, all this correlated with magic, with **magic** and witchcraft, the world was permeated by spirits, not only evil ones, but the devil played a special role in it without question.

Now Luther is soon learned and enlightened and no longer believes in any ghosts. In the past, he says, the world was thought to be full of rumbling and poltergeists, who were believed to be the souls of the dead; today, he writes in 5zy, we know through the Gospel,
"because they are not human souls, but vain evil devils".

The devil, he teaches, inhabits the woods, the bushes, the waters - and creeps up on us everywhere to corrupt us. Luther particularly warns against bathing in cold water. And it's not only the male devils who do their mischief in the water, but also the mermaids, "who tease and drown the children at the edge of the water in5 water, they are all devils -. And of course they fornicate to the devil's delight. For the devil often drags -even maids into the water, impregnates them and keeps them with him until they recover from the child. Then he swaps the children in the cradles with the devil's children.*'

Devils are also to be found in the dense black clouds, which cause weather, hail, lightning and thunder and vezgiheri the air, pasture etc.", so this should not be explained by natural causes. There are also devils in monkeys, guenons and parrots, which is why they can imitate humans so well. Devils of course a nch under

of the earth. And devils not least in the damp, muddy regions of Saxony. Indeed, the reformer believes that all the devils "whom Christ cast out into the swine in Jerusalem and Judah" are gathered here and even suspects that it is precisely because of these many devils that the gospel must be preached in Saxony! The whole earth is a kingdom of devils. The devil -rules and reigns in all the world-, he -assumes divine majesty-, is "a prince and god - here and now and holds everything in his hand - from which we live: food, drink, clothes, air, etc.

Luther said that "spirits walk around", "I have seen ghosts!" The devil appears in various guises, for example as a goat, more frequently as a dog, a cat, a fox
In the form of a calf, Luther himself drives him away from a sick person, if only for one night. And at a sick virgin in Wittenberg, he sees him again with his own eyes, this time in the form of Christ, whereupon he is transformed into a snake that bites the virgin's ear to the quick.

Let's linger on this subject a little longer, as it can't hurt to know who the world lets itself be taught and led by, who it believes! And whoever represents such a devil's level should be able to impress his belief in God!

According to Luther, all earthly misfortune comes from the devil: hail and storms, war, fire, plague, madness. Suicide, French disease, illness in general {but he is happy to help Jewish doctors, especially "with nobles and the great"). The devil spoils the cattle in the stable, makes the cheese bad and the milk. -A Christian should know that he sits with the devils, and that the devil is closer to him than his coat and shirt, even closer than his own skin, that he is all around us ... -"

Even as a young monk, Luther was already aware of the devil's nocturnal rumblings, and at Wartburg Castle he not only polished him - much at night - but also tried twice, "in the form of a large dog",to kill Luther. He then caught sight of him at Coburg
• in my garden as a wild black saw", and another time on the Veste as a fiery serpent. But he doesn't just see it:
"The devil has probably often had me by the head.

Yes, Satan is so hard on him that he no longer knows -whether I am dead or alive-. He quarrels, he fights with him day after day, -every day I have to lick him to death-, he is even in bed with him, yes, "he sleeps with me much more than my Käthe-. Sometimes, of course, he fends him off more easily, simply says "Fuck you" or can chase him away with a "Fortz".

The Incarnate One is after him everywhere, even through his beasts. At the Diet of Augsburg, for example, every bishop has as many devils ready against him as a dog has fleas around St. John the Baptist. And when he travels to Eisleben in the year of his death54 >*Ch Eisleben,
he once again finds such large crowds of harassing
He also believes that he has seen the prince of darkness himself.

Luther tells us the strangest reports of the devil; for example, that eight hares were caught in Thuringia, which overnight turned into the heads of horses that would otherwise lie on shingle. He hears many stories from others, of course from credible people, and experiences quite a few satanic incidents himself. Of course, he was not unaware that the devil makes contracts with people. One such devil's pact, weifi ez, was made by his opponent Doctor Eck, as well as by Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg, who was hostile to him from the outset.

But the magicians are particularly dangerous auxiliaries of Lucifer, the witches.

Luther uses many German and Latin names for the word witch (which as such only occurs once in his writings, the more than hundred volumes of the -Weimarana). He frequently refers to men as "sorcerers", the female witch often as "Wetterma- chern, Wettermacherin" and - apparently his own creation: -devil-whore" .

As is well known, the reformer does not have a very high opinion of women - after a year and a half of Christianity. He already interprets Eve's fall from grace to the advantage of man, your
• regiment - who is -higher and better - to whom also the
-writing" -allowing "several women" to be brought home - a prince

the princely servant generously allows a double marriage! - where-against the wife, -half a child", his great beast-, has to "bend over" and may be beaten up, she is, the house cleaning aside, -no good for anything -.*°

So for Luther, as for the world before him, and not only for the Catholic world, it was primarily women who practiced sorcery and witchcraft. In particular, he attributed harmful magic "clearly to women" (B. Frank). -It is common to the nature of women that they ... And that women are inferior was as clear to the greatest of all reformers as it was to the greatest teachers of the Catholic Church. Yes, he even surpasses them in his ability to defame, he becomes so vile that one might think he went to school with the "witch-hammer", which he never mentions, perhaps never even knew. However seriously he claims that women, -which is true-, have a similar relationship to the devil as men, the priests, to God - 'in short, everything that God has commanded the men {as the holy things f the priesthood and God's word) that the devil has commanded the women / who are his priests / who are the victims of many superstitions / blessings and other holy things', whereby Luther, in the best Catholic tradition, also makes women the actual burnt offerings of the witch pogroms.-'

Already in the i J i 6 and i 5 i y in the Wittenberg city church, the
In his sermons on the Decalogue, "Decem praecepta", the sermons on the Ten Commandments, Luther attacks sorceresses and witches, especially the "old women", also known as "verulae -, - a1ter Batck"
etc., synonyms for witches.

These women desecrate the sacraments in honor of Satan, concoct magic potions and can kill people. With some witches, the devil appears several times a day. There are incubi and succubi who fornicate with the devil's lairs, but also with other people. And what the devil himself cannot do, he does through "old witches" - the devil is very powerful in the sorceresses.

Luther's doubters of the demonic arts argue "that the evil spirits are indeed capable of such things", even if only with God's help, - if it were God's will - which would make God the real culprit.

Luther even makes it clear that God not only allows the work of devils and witches, but orders it! And since the "evil of sorcery seemed to be getting out of hand again, Luther found it "necessary to publish the i y i 8 printed sermons on the Decalogue again.

The reformer knows a lot of witches' harms, from theft of milk, eggs and buns, to "blowing the cow's ear and speaking Gortes and the holy names", t o physical ruin, - -the leurt schiessen, lernen und vor- durren, die kind ynn der wigen marttem, die ehlich glidmaß betzau- bern und desgleychen-.-'

According to Luther, witches can not only blind people mentally, they can also make them blind, can work remote spells, for example by making dolls, can kill quickly or by means of long illnesses, occurrences that were known to him himself, - as I have seen a lot with such damage -. And, of course, he also knows that witches can abuse the sanctuaries of Christians, that they can spoil crops, kill livestock; he knows the milk spell, milking from an axe, a handkerchief on a doorpost, a table, a handle and so on.

The devil can harm even cradle children. He can arrange children in different ways, even lay them in the cradle in their place, as I myself have heard that there was such a child in Saxony to whom five wives could not give enough milk to breastfeed; and there are more examples of this". Not enough. "It is also true, as they say, that the evil spirit can join the wives and make them pregnant and cause all kinds of misfortune." Luther then speaks of "Wechsel-bälgen" and "Kielkröpfen" and recommends that such children be suffocated; in Dessau he also advised suffocating such a child of twelve years of age.**

Luther's attitude towards witchcraft is confusing and the result of his own inconsistency.

Luther has no doubt about the existence of -devil's whores who surrender to Satan and whom he fieischlich attends- and polemicizes against the jurists who "give too much testimony and evidence".

and disregard the obvious facts.
-But such deeds are testimony enough that they should justly be severely punished."

He is instructed about the devil's lure by -excellent teachers and knows that the devils "may lay themselves under or on top of a man in a sinful way. Thus in the form of a woman he may receive a man's seed / and then change himself into the form of a man and make a child with a woman, even though he is not the father of the same, but the one from whom he received the seed.

In his conception of the incubus, the Wittenberg scholar builds on the corresponding scholastic doctrine and on Augustine. As early as i_5 oq he notes in the margin of his edition of De Civitate Dei: - in- cubi-. So the matter occupied him early on and left him no room for doubt. For him it was clear that a demon could be incubus or succubus - I have heard many people give their own examples. And Augustine also says that he has heard the same from credible people. - Luther only denies -that something can be begotten from the devil and a human being" - but occasionally claims the opposite.[4]

Of course, Luther also counted many things in the Ka-
tholicism, such as consecrations, holy water, Blasius candles, amulets with biblical quotations, with the names of saints - ... et omnes zeuberey", because help for the devil, work of the devil, violation of the "order of creation". Occasionally, even monks, papists and the pope himself are attributed to the realm of magic and equated with the Zauberians, as are "heretics", Turks and Jews.

Spell casting and conjuring are - teuffels gescheffre", are according to Lu- ther offenses "fornemlich an der göttlichen Majestät", consequently sorcery is a majesty crime . .. Thus it is justly punished in life and limb. The reformer puts it in the same league as murder and theft, plague and war and idolatry. Those who cast spells should be excommunicated or killed.

Luther demands for the first time the killing of witches (occidantur) anno Domini i 5a6, and he demands it until the end of his life. ln the spring of z ya6, the preacher on the Old Testament calls for the killing of witches.

Commandment - You shall not let the sorceresses live - five times the death penalty for them. It sounds like this: "The vernacular calls them the wise women. They shall be put to death (Occidantur) ... It is a most just law that sorceresses should be put to death, for they do much harm ... If you see such women, they have devilish shapes, I have seen some. That is why they are to be killed ... The sorceresses are to be killed because they are thieves, adulterers, robbers, murderers ... So they are not to be dealt with with contempt, but with the sword or with firm faith. They harm in many ways, so they are to be killed, not only because they harm, but also because they have contact with Satan.

For Luther, even milk thieves are worthy of death because of their satanic behavior. -No mercy on them!" he exclaims in August u 8: -fcf *wanted to burn them himself,* in the manner of the (Mosaic) law, where the priests began by stoning the guilty." Perhaps it is also not insignificant that Luther's first excommunication on August zz. • s°9 <'-ige Hexen trifft; und dassB seine Heimat Kursachsen zuerst die gemeinrechtlichen Strafgesetze gegen Hexen und Zauberer i yyz verschärft.--.

But whether Luther's position on sorcery and witchcraft was more a psychological-biographical or a theological problem, whether it was determined more by his parental home or his own later involvement or - most likely - by both, his enormous influence on the Reformation a n d even beyond remains decisive.

Luther repeatedly spoke and wrote against sorcerers and witches, in the not inconsiderably widespread Decalogue sermons, the Prayer Booklet, the Church Postil, the Galatians and Genesis commentaries, and above all in his very popular table talks. And this almost lifelong agitation increased in scope and severity in his later years. However, given the immense spread of his writings and his authority, this must have had all the more effect as countless Lutheran preachers, religious authors, writers and occasionally even Catholic clerics were not able to follow him.

ker followed on from this. Likewise lawyers such as Johann Fischart from Frankfurt, who fought against the "witches' hammer" and other Catholic acts of this tendency, but called for the burning of witches with reference to Luther. And Benedict Carpzov, a professor of law born in Wittenberg, who was instrumental in the development of Saxon-German criminal law and is regarded as the father of German criminal law and procedure and is said to have signed death sentences, also belonged to this group, at least indirectly.

As much as Luther's attitude to sorcery and witchcraft is vacillating and contradictory, one aspect of it, emphasizes]örg Haustein, Luther treats with shocking clarity at every point ...: Sorcery should be punished with death!"-*

THEJUDGEMENTS

For Luther, Jews and Judaism, long unrecognized, were of considerable importance. He had already commented on this in his still Catholic, early Reformation period around i y i 5 - and for the last time on by. February i 54S, three days before his death. And just as his Catholic clerical upbringing had made him emotionally and mentally hostile to "heretics and witches", so too was he against the Jews. Even though in his early years he knew them almost exclusively from books, the Bible and theology, he must have been influenced by the general anti-Jewish mood, and even more so by anti-Jewish Catholic theology. And theologically, Luther was basically always anti-Jewish, dominated by the belief that the Jews were godless because they rejected the "redemption" through Jesus Christ.

The reformer really could not escape the hands of the Catholics without leaving a trace. H e had attended the Franciscan school in Magdeburg, the Latin school of the Barfüßer in Eisenach, attended the University of Erßrt at the beginning of the i6th century and was a monk in the monastery of the Augustinian hermits there. He attended the University of Erßrt at the beginning of the sixth

century and entered the monastery of the Augustinian hermits there as a monk in 5o5.

treren. During this time, he probably became familiar with all the anti-Jewish views and arguments of medieval theology. It was also during this period, as had of course been the case for a long time, that continued Jewish

statr, i4 qz from Spain and Mecklenburg, i4 q3 From Magdeburg. *49s from Reutlingen, iq96 from Portugal, Carinthia, Styria and Carniola. *4sq from Nuremberg, in the same year from Ulm, r 5o6 from Nördlingen, also from Co1mar.-'

Even in Luther's first lecture on Psalms between i §Z3 tlnd i i y at the University of Wittenberg, the animosity comes through in full force; for example, the crucifixion of Jesus blamed on the Jews - an ancient, truly Protestant motif of Christian hostility towards the Jews! - plays a central role. Although they once did not literally crucify Jesus, they inwardly, willfully, as they, rightly understood, still crucify him, as they, through their interpretation of scripture, also continue to kill, stone and murder their prophets and scribes. - They spit on, crucify and kill the Holy Scriptures as they once did the earthly Christ, and even more, they devastate themselves with their teachings far worse than the Romans did physically, and constantly m a s s a c r e the souls entrusted to them through their Christ-denying teachings" (von der Osten-Sacken).

For the pre-Reformation Luther, these Jews are "bloodthirsty", a whole "B-butacker", "a synagogue of Satan to this d a y". If they could, they would tear the Christians to pieces with their teeth. Even in his first lecture on Psalms, the Jews are vilified, they are called zealous liars, their writings are full of lies, full of distortions of the Bible and their martyrs are portrayed as hypocrites who only die out of pure selfishness.

In his interpretation of Psalm 77** - translated by himself

• Vrid struck his enemies in the hindrance {in posteriora) / Vnd henget jnen an ewige Schande an" -, he verse in the rectat area so popular with him and writes: their posterior parts are the reputation of their works, which has already been festering and stinking through the world since the Gospel was revealed. And their recta stick out because the gospel makes known even the most secret evil of their hearts,

{namely) what they are like on the inside ... -

In the following years, too, there are repeated harsh attacks on the Verhafites, Luther boasting, for example, that, thanks to their many efforts and prayers, they were "given to all peoples throughout the world to be trampled on, like the dung in the streets ... -'-

But then he apparently changes his stance. In the lecture on Romans i y I §/i 5 i S, he begins to criticize their defamation and to cautiously stand up for them, not only for the Old Testament Jews, but also for the living Jews, curiously following the apostle Paul in his conviction, who was the first to initiate the Christian struggle against the Jews and continued it throughout his lifetime, who, in the oldest testimony of the New Testament, condemns them - to the end of the world - and for whom all their spiritual and religious possessions are filth {I I*4f f.!}.

The Jews, Luther now says, are not destroyed by God.
not all will be rejected, some will believe and be saved even before the end of time, indeed in the end "all Israel will be saved". 5After all, the Jews are - of the blood of Christ", -are blood friends, cousins and brothers of our Lord -, and from this point of view -the Jews are more devoted to Christ than we are.

After being asked to justify his views on the Old Testament, Luther wrote his pamphlet -Dafi Jesus Chri- stus ein geborner Jude sein. Once again, we read pro-Jewish statements, occasionally spiced with sharp anti-Catholic polemics. For example, when he reproaches the papists for their previous treatment of the Jews, saying that a good Christian would rather have been a Jew than a Christian. "For our fools, the beasts, bishops, sophists and monks, the coarse donkey heads, have so far dealt with the Jews that whoever would have been a good Christian would have liked to become a Jew. And if I had been a Jew and had seen such tols and gags governing and teaching the Christian faith, I would have been a Jew before I became a Christian.

It is certainly not surprising that he always interprets controversial biblical questions in his own way, as he represents the only truth, just as the Jews or Catholics do. But it is striking to see the Pharisaism - the good Roman school - with which he interprets the inter-

pretatio Christiana, he presents the holy book of the Jews as Christian {cf. I i zi f.!). After all, the Old Testament pious people are also unquestionably Christians for him. After all, he demands that the Jews be allowed to live and work among the Christians, to accept them as brothers in Christian love, and considers the atrocity tales circulating about them, the child stealing, the ritual murders, the poisoning of wells, the desecration of the Host and such like - "more" than "lies and deceit.

But why this Lutheran friendliness towards the Jews, who have always been so despised and held in such high esteem by Christianity? Why this beautiful Reformation "tolerance"? Well, the master of men does not make a murderous pit out of his heart, he gives the answer himself, and not just once, as he hopes that "if you deal with the Jews in a friendly manner and subdivide them neatly from the Holy Scriptures, you should become many true Christians and believe again in your cousins, the prophets and patriarchs".

That was indeed the case: Luther wanted to make proselytes. Wanted to understandably, to increase his following. The conversion of the Jews, mere objects of conversion, was the real motive of his writing. Their fate hardly concerned the author, but the progress of the Reformation did. He could not have outdone the restrained papism, could not have proved the superiority of his doctrine more than through a missionary success in a few years, through a victory that had been denied to the papacy for centuries.

So he took great pains to spread the new work himself, even propagating it from the pulpit. And he was lucky. It went through no less than nine editions in I§Z3. The next year, a Latin translation was published twice in Augsburg, and in 5x5 another Latin translation was published in Strasbourg. Perhaps even the Jews themselves promoted the dissemination of the treatise. Luther's books were still being bought in Jerusalem. And his method of persecuting the Jews was well received and enthusiastically applauded.

But the author had done the math without the landlord. The bookselling success was not a missionary one. His whole

His labor of love, not overwhelming, but nevertheless remarkable and also noticed, was in vain. He did not convince the Jews, did not win their trust. What could the good Christian do now but tighten the strings? Turn the Jews into victims of the Reformation instead of the hoped-for com- batants? In the years that followed, during which he had various legendary encounters with Jews, some of them perhaps only fictitious, the number of their baptisms was no greater than before the Reformation, so his attempt to convert them obviously failed, his attitude towards them fluctuating, wavering, then worse. As early as the beginning of the 1930s, he saw himself -'and our religion- so mocked by Jewish baptized people that he threatened that if he found another pious Jew to baptize, he would push him off the Elbe bridge with a stone around his neck with the words "I baptize you in the name of Abraham".

And when - according to* John Frederick the Magnanimous, Elector of Saxony and Luther's sovereign ruler, the Jews were given special protection by edict

ruthlessly expelled from his territory, Luther does not do the slightest thing for her. On the contrary, he refused to help their lawyer, Josel von Rosheim, a man of impeccable reputation, who wrote to him several times begging for an audience with the prince. Although Luther calls the petitioner his good friend, his dear Joseph, and also wishes all Jews the best, he does not think of interceding, but advises Josel to have his letters of recommendation presented by others. "Hereby God commanded l-

(After all, he puts the Jews on the same level as his worst enemies, the Turks and the Papists. However, he practically only said what he wanted to know about Judaism, i.e. nothing authentic. Because: - He was satisfied with the information that anti-Jewish polemics had provided him with- (St. Schreiner).**

I $38 Luther had written Count Wolff Schlick of Falkenau the thirty-page letter "Against the Sabbaths to a good friend", which was soon translated back into Latin. Schlick had long ago asked Luther for his support against the Jews who were proselytizing in Moravia.

were now ready to contribute advice and opinions against "the Jews with their rubbish and their doctrine" and, above all, to fight their hope in the Messiah. On the one side stood ei and the faithful, true God, on the other the false, mendacious Jews, and moreover it was clear "that their rotten, useless lies and false chatter cannot harm us", indeed, their abandonment of God, as it says towards the end of the letter, which is all in all still moderate, is so great that in it - not a fly with a wing can comfort them -*.

But when a Jewish rebuttal appeared in the spring of is4• , the reformer was obviously in a rage, and he embarked on his longest and most fanatical anti-Jewish campaign: -From
the Jews and their lies-.

The Weimar edition of•4 i is probably one of the most sweeping and disgusting anti-Jewish diatribes of all time: a single, venomous rant against the Jews.
the Jews and not least their damned rabbis, who poison the poor youth and the common man to such an extent that they should be stoned! Continuing, from beginning to end, consistently following his title, he c a l l s everything advocated by the Jews liars and they themselves liars throughout, who of course will also have eternal shame for their arrogance, stubbornness, their hardness, foolishness, arrogance, their courageous, obvious lies, while he advocates the truth, the pure truth and nothing but the truth.

e When you see or think of a Jew, speak to yourself thus: Behold, the mouth that I see there has every Saturday cursed and maledicted and eaten my dear Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemed me with his precious blood, and prayed and prayed to God that I, my wife and child and all Christians would be stabbed to death and perish most miserably; has also perhaps fed on the earth many times today over the name of Jesus (as they are wont to do), so that the spittle still hangs in his mouth and beard, where he would have room to spit. And if I should eat, drink or speak with such an infamous mouth, I would

I will eat and drink from the bowl or jug full of devils, as he will make me partaker of all the devils that dwell in the Jews and spill the holy blood of Christ. God protect me for that.

Luther constantly accuses the Jews of greed. It stinks out of their mouths, as no people under the sun is more stingy than they are, still are, have been and always will be. If a thief steals ten guilders, he must hang, Luther rails.

• But a Jew, if he steals ten tons of gold and robs through his usury, he is better than God himself.

The Jews expected their Messiah to slay all the Jews so that they could take all the land, goods and dominion of the world. The Jews want swords and wars, fear and misfortune for the cursed Goyim, people who give their gold and silver to them, the Jews, to be their servants and let themselves be slaughtered like poor cattle. They hold the Christians captive in their own land, let them toil, let them toil in the nosetail, while they themselves sit behind the stove, roast pears, eat, drink, suck money and goods from the Christians, while they lie, curse, spit, murder, steal, rob, usurp, mock and do all such blasphemous abominations. -So they rob and suck us dry, lie on our necks, the lazy rogues and idle wretches, drink, eat, have good days in our **house,** curse our Lord Christ, churches, princes and all of us as a reward, threaten and wish us death and all misfortune without submission. Think, how do we poor Christians come to feed and enrich such lazy, weary people, such useless, wicked, harmful people, such blasphemous enemies of God for nothing, and get nothing in return but their cursing, blasphemy and all the misfortune they can do and wish for us? ---

Yes, what to do, Luther finally asks, with this God-damned people? We must not take revenge, he says in good Christian fashion. -They have revenge on their necks, a thousand times worse than we would wish for them." Of course, we can no longer believe his "faithful advice", his recommendation to the sovereigns,
-to practise a sharp mercy with prayer and the fear of God:

-First, that their synagogue or school be set on fire, and that what will not burn be heaped up with earth and protected, so that no man may see a stone or cinder of it forever. And these things shall be done in honor of our Lord and of Christendom, that God may see that we are Christians and have not knowingly endured nor consented to such public lying, cursing and blaspheming of his Son and his Christians ...

On the other hand, that their houses also be broken up and destroyed in the same way. For they do the same things inside that they do in their schools. For this they may be put under a roof or in a stable like the gypsies, so that they may know that they are not masters in our land, as they boast, but in misery and imprisoned, as they cry out and complain before God about us without a shelter.

Thirdly, that all their prayer books and Talmudisters, in which such idolatry, lies, curses and blasphemy are taught, be taken away from them.

Fourthly, that their rabbis should be threatened with life and limb. offer to teach henceforth ...

Fifthly, that the] udds should be completely excluded from the convoy and the road, for they have no business in the country, because they are not lords, nor officials, nor merchants or desgieichen. They should stay at home ...

Sixthly, that they be forbidden usury, and that all cash and jewels be taken from them and set aside for safekeeping. And this is the cause: all that they have {as threatening said) they have stolen and robbed from us by their usury, because they have no other food ...

For the seventh, that the young, strong Jews and Jewesses be given flails, axes, karsts, spades, shafts, spindles and let them earn their bread by the sweat of their noses, as Adarri's children are commanded in Gen 3 { iq). For it is not good that they should make us cursed Goyim work in the sweat of our brow, and they, the holy people, should eat it behind the furnace with lazy days, feasts and pomp.

Luther calls this appeal to the people a "sharp mercy".

authorities, only to later write in the same context in a less pseudo-callous manner: "Burn their synagogues, forbid everything I have told you to threaten, force them to work, and deal with them with all ruthlessness (!) as Moses did in the desert and struck three thousand dead so that the whole crowd would not perish. "*-

There he confesses what he really thought was necessary. And some might think that such sharp mercy or mercilessness alone would make Lutheran theologians sink with shame today, six decades after Hitler. But no real theologian has ever sunk in shame!

Instead of many, let us look at the Protestant man of God Walther Bienen and his source book "Martin Luther and the Jews", published by Evangelisches Verlagswerk Frankfurt am Main, together with introductions and explanations.

Of course, the Lutheran finds some things "bad", "regrettable", "harsh and unfair", "inhuman", even "un-Christian", etc.

However, what is as incidental as it is essential today
is excused, indirectly mitigated, defused, marginal and far removed from the core, the proprium. For the basis of the noble whole is and remains "the general truth of the Gospel and the dogmas", Luther's great Reformation conviction. However, his hostility towards the Jews has nothing to do with this. For it is
--pre-Lutheran, is decidedly -a1tdogmatic, -late medieval" - is - throughout not "grown on the ground of its own theology", but stems -from pre-Reformation hostility towards Jews- etc.[4']

Now all this is absolutely right. But does it exonerate Luther? Should he have adopted it? But when he adopted it, when he propagated the traditional hostility towards Jews in theory and practice, this hostility towards Jews was no longer just "pre-Lutheran", it was also Lutheran. It was no longer just "pre-Reformation", it was also Reformation. It was no longer just "late medieval", it was also early modern. It no longer belonged to
-not to Reformation theology-, it now belonged to it!

Of course, Lutheran Bienert is right again when he recognizes all this
as -contemporary-historical-.

But the entire Reformation was also due to contemporary history, the Three Years' War and the First World War and the Second and all the hundred and more wars and interventions by the USA in the recent past and the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were also due to contemporary history. Because "contemporary history" is just a silly excuse, just a meaningless explanation as well as a meaningful exculpation, not least by many historians; of which they should be ashamed, they could be ashamed. But they are not ashamed either - our five continents are probably sinking, due to contemporary history ... But Lutheran Bienen wants everything to be understood in terms of the historical situation "into which Luther was speaking - and which was accustomed to even worse things". Even worse. The good Luther! Can we understand Bienert in this way? At least he now speaks of Luther's "ray to set fire to the synagogues" and states - so that we see the reformer correctly - in the overall context of the contemporary historical situation - that at that time "most synagogues in the period after i 34q" (cf. 437 ff.) -had already been burned -. "At least 3oo synagogues - , the theologian trumpets. So the rest can't have been that big, Luther can't have been that bad again.

be? In any case, reassures his knowledgeable follower, Lu- thers advice to burn the synagogues - nothing unusual at the time - had been given to many churchmen in Lyon before and at the same time - and - he came, heart, what more could you wish, -'to the popular mood .-'

Luther's recommendation to burn books was no different. The "most famous university in the West in Paris had long since led the way, other universities had more or less followed suit, and the reformer was once again in line with many important men of his time".

And now the suggestion to expel the Jews!

Yes, that was "common practice up and down the country" in those days anyway, which is why, as the Lutheran admits, the Jew was hardly any-

where welcome. Nevertheless, a good old custom in the Christian West. Bienen enumerates eloquently: England, France, Spain, Pomigal, he mentions dozens of Jewish exiles in Germany, what the heck - -Luther was a child of his time in this too and in the political sphere largely misled by the spirit of the times." Yes, the spirit of the times again {cf. 1 56 f.), a particularly beautiful spirit, at least for so many theologians and historians immersed in retrospection, and yet so closely related to the time-conditioned, time-historical. And even if Luther formulated more crudely that the Jews should be "hunted out like mad dogs", he already had predecessors, pre-formulators, so to speak.

After all, there were more brutal natures. Especially when it c a m e to killing people, the reformer did not even reach the brutality of many of his contemporaries. Good Luther! Yes, he completely avoided the "way of killing people of other faiths". Really? And the killing of Anabaptists? The killing of witches? Not to mention the peasants.

But the Jews? -Lut1ier did not point the way to 'Auschwitz' -, writes the Lutheran and affirms: "Never - not even in his most furious attacks on the Jews or their religion - did he suggest or even condone the killing of Jews.

But what did he mean when he suggested dealing with Jews "after all unmercy", -as Moses did in the desert and struck three thousand dead ...? - ?! What did he mean when he was asked if he would slap a Jew, he confessed that he would "strike him down and stab him in anger. If one is authorized to kill a %uher according to human and divine law, one is much more likely to kill a blasphemer? What did he mean when he gave his fourth piece of advice, "to forbid their rabbis to teach there for life and limb ..."? ? For life and limb, that is, on pain of death.4*

Of course, Lurher did not lead the way to "Auschwitz", but he undoubtedly had something to do with it - enormously. We don't need to point to Julius Streichen before the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, although at the time, he was a big hit with his invocation of Luther in the

was right. There are other sources. Shortly after the Second World War, Melvin Lasky, a young American writer, visited Karl Jaspers in Heidelberg, spoke somewhat sheepishly about Germany's great cultural tradition, called Les- sing, Goerhe, but was brusquely interrupted by Jaspers and, after the scholar reached behind him into the bookshelf, found himself confronted with Luther's "On the Jews and their Lies". -That's it," said Jaspers. -The whole program of the Hitler era is already there!" And later wrote in "The Non-Christian Religions and the Occident": "What Hitler did, Luther advised, with the exception of the direct killing by gas chambers.

Walther Bienert unthinkingly connects his hero himself with the gas chambers; with -Auschwitz-. What he means, and he is not wrong, is Luther's iritole- rance, especially its intensification since his advice,
was decisively connected with the -churchman- Luther, was
It was the consequence of his regional church policy and the associated state protection. For as a representative of the now established "Lutheran" churches, he had also represented their claim to sole truth or absolute authority, or rather had to represent it - naturally another "disastrous medieval legacy". But it was precisely this that led to "new tolerance and enmity", a pure result of politics, of church politics. It had nothing to do with personal issues, with the outbursts of individual emotions, with the stubbornness of old age. Rather, it had to be integrated into the historical context from which it arose, i.e. into the concerns of the regional church, the institution and its exclusive claim to "the truth" with the resulting intolerance. However, Luther and Lutheranism were not isolated, but rather in a series with other institutions, other " ideological persecutions - from antiquity to the present day".
- Auschwitz' or 'Gulag' or wherever".

Luther's theology is of course not involved at all in all of this, he himself only to the extent that, as a responsible churchman, he was responsible for the Reformation church system vis-à-vis the Jewish religion.

gion, through state intervention t h a t simply prohibits or makes it impossible to teach the contrary.

The real blame therefore lies with the development of the Reformation into a state religion, which Luther did not want at all, but which then - a historical fact - came about after Luther asked the authorities not to leave their people helplessly to their own devices, but rather out of 'Christian love to organize religious provision and the church system in their countries'.
was, as I said, against Luther's original intention and, as Bienert never tires of emphasizing, has nothing to do with his theology, even though Luther's anti-Judaism - which is palpable everywhere - is precisely the result of his theology! For Bienen, on the other hand, the new persecution of the Jews came from the institution, the regional church. For as a state church, it had an obvious tendency to exclude all non-national religions. It was not Luther's theology, but the inherited state protection of the only true religion, which was passed on to the regional churches, that was the breeding ground for intolerance towards the Jews. --'

Luther's last four sermons - in total, he left behind the - Ge-
He preached in Eisleben in the year of his death - well over two thousand - sermons on the Jews. In them, the Jews are insulted as representatives of unbelief and misbelief, as blind blasphemers of God, as people who want to murder Abel, that is, all non-Jews, while the Christians offer them their Christian faith and their Christian love. If they do not teach themselves, if they continue to blaspheme and defile the Lord, they are no longer acceptable. The Jews, Adam Weyer summarizes, are in large parts of Luther's sermons - nothing other than the ungodly - from whom all other ungodly are descended. They are - the children of Satan - and that
they were already in the years i 5 rd/I 5 I y.

But on i. February 54 , the month of his death, he writes to his wife that he must set about expelling the Jews. Count Albrecht was their enemy and had already given them up. - But no one is doing anything to them yet. God willing, I will help Count Albrecht in the pulpit and give them up too. I drink Naumburgisch

Beer ...- A week later, on February7. , he again wrote to Katharina von ßora with regrets: -No one wants to do anything to them yet." And on the same day, just a few days before his Death, nor help to expel the Jews. -If they do not convert, we should neither tolerate them nor suffer them here" - in the literal sense, writes Peter von der Osten-Sacken, "his last word on this question".

But the most thought-provoking word I know about Luther comes from a Catholic, Joseph Lortz, and reads: -Luther was more Catholic than we were ..." The continuation: -... and as the majority of Protestant research knows it, would probably be better to conclude: wants to know it.'[3] Still wants to know it. Because, of course, other "heretics" have already been canonized. And if times get worse for the two denominations - and they will - and the chairs and benefices begin to wobble, they will move even closer together, crawl all the way to the cross and *make don* Luther - the church teacher.

He would have deserved it,

13 . CHAPTER

Vo u -SACCO al Ro uA -

TO M AU GS BU RG z R R Rx ci G IO NSF RI EDEN

-Probably the most disastrous of all the popes who ever sat on the Roman throne.
Leopold von Ranke on Clement VII'.

-Never has a richer booty fallen into the hands of a more violent force, never has there been a tiinger, more persistent, more diluted pliinderung.
Leopold **von Rsnke** on the **Sacco** di **Roma'**

In many ways, especially in his nepotism, tr, even as pope, was a child of the Renaissance period in which he had grown up. What deviations his love for
The history of his pontificate has only too much to tell about this. The life of Paul III also purposefully retained the secular habits of the Renaissance. It may also have made an embarrassing impression that he ... had the favorable hour for all actions of a n y significance ... **determined** by astrologers.
Ludwig von Pastor on Pope Pnul III'.

KARL Ü. AND FRANZ Í.

One of the most important factors in European politics at the time of the Reformation was the opposition of the Houses of Habsburg and Valois and their struggle for supremacy, fought between Charles V, the Roman-German emperor (i 5 iq-r ss 6), and the French king Francis l- s-i-'5 7)-

Karl, a grandson of Emperor Maximilian I on his father's side, maternal-

Ferdinand II the Catholic, was the son of Philip the Schíine of Burgundy and John the Mad of Spa- nia. Raised in the Netherlands with a French mother tongue and educated as a Spaniard, he inherited a vast empire, Burgundy and the Low Countries, Austria, Castile, Aragon, Nea

pel, Sicily and the colonies in America. King of Spain since•s x6 {as Carlos I), he prevailed over his French rival in the imperial election after Maximilian's death,

whose bribes he paid by means of the enormous sum of

8 o ooo guilders, had already been prepared by Grandfather Maximilian that "a lot of money", preferably cash, was needed to outbid the French. And a few years later, Jakob Fugger the Rich wrote to the monarch quite bluntly that "Your Imperial Majesty could not have obtained the imperial crown without my help". {Even as emperor, Charles V continued to need a lot of money and, for example, gave the Augsburg banking and trading house of the Welser family loans for Venezuela until i s46.)

The global political consequences of the election1 of i 5 i q included four wars waged by **Charles** V against Francis I: i yzi-i yz ; iy z6-

5*9i * 53<"* ii : - i4--* 544. to which was added a fifth war {i hx- i 5 yq) against Francis' son and successor Henry II; bloody battles between Germany and France for hegemony in **Europe,** which broke out again and again and continued into the zo. Century.

Not least these wars with the aim of regaining Italy for the German-Spanish sphere of power contributed to Charles V spending less than eight years of his seven years as emperor in the empire, since he was neither of i 5 xr-i y3o nor of i y3*-* i4 there; which in turn meant that the Reformation was able to spread relatively undisturbed in German lands under the strictly Old Believer ruler and secular head of Christendom. In April i yzi, the Spanish prelates and grandees urged Charles in vain to ensure Luther's extermination.

and his followers; the implementation of the Edict of Worms against Luther was interrupted.

i yzi, Charles left the Habsburg hereditary lands, five duchies, to his brother Ferdinand I, who represented him during his absence in the German Empire, where he countered the spread of Protestantism. In the same year, Charles himself opened the war for Milan against France, which he won after weeks of fighting.

long battles in the decisive battle near Pavia on4 February by the skin of its teeth, mainly because the Swiss

ant on the French side refused to **fight** (and then fled and drowned in droves in the Ticino). The battle casualties amounted to over ooo men, the French king was captured, France's supremacy in Italy was ended in favor of Spain, and on **i. On April i** 5zJ, the Pope concluded a protective alliance with the now most powerful Christian princes in Europe, which did not last long.

On January 4, i yz6 ifh, the French king invoked the peace of Madrid {whereupon Milan became *7*j S änisch) Forde-

Charles's demands, which even his influential chancellor Mercurino Gattinara found merely excessive. Francis I, however, conjured up whatever the emperor wanted, giving up Naples, Milan, Genoa, Burgenland and its tributaries, his rights in Flanders, Artois and so on,

had already secretly notarized that he would keep neither his oaths nor the peace. And Clement VII solemnly absolved the perjurer of his oath and turned away from the emperor, disregarding their alliance of defense and protection, as he began to fear his superiority. In fact, it was part of his policy of playing emperor and king off against each other to his advantage.

On az. On May i 5a6, the Pope brought about the **League** of Cognac against Charles, once again a Holy League in which he, Cle- mens, as the soul of the whole great enterprise (Gregorovius), France, Venice and Milan stood united against the Catholic Catholic monarch, and the accession of the English king was also expected shortly; the driving force behind the League was the Pope's confidant, his datar Gian Matteo Giberti', the Bishop of Verona.

C LEM E1'4S VII. cAVIERT

Giulio de Medici, as Clemens VII. l - 5*3**534 i eigentlifh hiefi, **was** an illegitimate son of the **Giuliano** Medici who died i n t h e r• 47

In order for Giulio to become a cardinal, his illegitimate descent was forged into a legitimate one under his cousin Leo X by means of a document that "secretly established a valid marriage" between his parents. Moreover, Clement VII was himself the father of a son, Alessandro, who was to become hereditary Duke of Florence through a servant girl.

s3 had reconquered Florence for the pope; a city for which Michelangelo had fought as a fortress commander, a city that, despite the plague and famine, fought desperately to the last.

which preferred to go under rather than become papal and on which the Holy Father then took revenge for several years of republican rule through unbridled exile, confiscation of goods and the deprivation of those who had previously ruled. But in the end, the

War cost him two million gold ducats, which he hoarded through taxes and the sale of church property and offices.

The Cardinal Medici way under the strong reluctance of the numerous French cardinals, emerged victorious from a fifty-day conclave on iq. November i5 k3 as the winner.

Of course, they had bribed again; the Medici, for example Cardinal Pompeo Colonna was offered the vice-chancellorship and a pa- last, Cardinal Farnesc ioo ooo ducats each from both the French and the imperial side, of which the emperor himself was to receive 8oooo ducats. His candidate, however, was his partisan Giulio Medici, who, as pope, did not renew the pact of defense concluded by his predecessor Hadrian VI {i az-i yz3) with Charles V. Instead, he approached him in secret. Instead, he approached France in secret. And when its king, after several defeats in northern Italy, regained Milan on z6. October i yz¢ Milan, the Pope promptly joined forces with the victor on iz. December, the Pope promptly joined forces with the victor and was guaranteed the Medici rule in Florence, among other things. After the Frenchman's surprising fiasco before Pavia, however, Clement rejoined the emperor in order to fight him again in the League of Cognac for fear of his power in Italy and Spanish hegemony in general.'

Clement VII, who was also said to have some good qualities, was regarded as serious and hard-working, certainly not as wasteful as his predecessor Leo X, although he was not as strict on morals, not as modest as his immediate predecessor Hadrian VI, the former Dutch professor and tutor of Charles V, who as pope spent just one ducat a day on his table.

As usual, Clement created several dozen prelates, all of them cardinals for financial or dynastic, political r e a s o n s , men who were neither particularly Christian nor ecclesiastical, including the very young pupil Odet de Coligny (poisoned by his valet de chambre), who had been sponsored by Francis 1. Frequently re-
Clemens also recruited troops, and occasionally he ran every cardinal hundred men out of his own pocket.

The Pope, who oppressed Rome with customs duties and new taxes, was hated by the people. So he found no support when Cardi

nal Pompeo Colonna, an imperial sympathizer, at the instigation of Charles {but - as if on his own fist-, it was said in the imperial lnstruction) on zo. September i5 z6, with his brothers and followers from Rome, perhaps t o kill it. Well, that became nothing. But while Clemens - still reeling from the news of the destruction of the Hungarian army under Louis II, Charles' brother-in-law, by the Turks at Mohàcs - fled to Castel Sant'Angelo, the Holy Father's chambers, those of the cardinals and curials, as well as St. Peter's Basilica, were plundered in the Vatican. Relics, crosses, chalices, croziers, the pope's tiara, the money in the coffers of the clerical offices - everything that could be had was looted, An estimated 3ooooo ducats in a few hours - a terrible scandal for the high priest who was soon to attack the Golonna with his war parties and destroy more than a dozen of its towns, but hardly a modest prelude to what was to take place in Rome the very next year.-

Clemens VII, anxious, fickle, disloyal and devious, pursued a rather small-state policy oriented towards the Medicean house rites, always changing sides as required and never getting out of the habit of maneuvering. When he arranged the League of Cognac against the emperor, he was "in a great hurry with his military preparations". So Charles had little choice but to throw new forces into Italy. Thousands of Spaniards and Germans sailed to Naples. From Tyrol, Georg von Frundsberg, the famous field commander who helped decide the Battle of Pavia, set off with i z ooo "pious lansquenets", Franconians and Swabians, Bavarians and Tyroleans, according to Ranke "all of them Lutheran. Their commander himself, who transferred his own estates and castles for 38,000 guilders to pay for them, on top of King Ferdinand's jewels and his wife's treasure, is said to have repeatedly declared that if he came to Rome, he would execute the Pope". But already at Bologne, Frundsberg suffered a stroke while trying to calm the mutinous mob due to the lack of pay, with which he was only just able to return home and die on August zo. August i y z8 to die.

In an adventurous march, short of provisions and money, completely without horses and cannons, favored by boldness, luck and a partly inactive enemy, after crossing the mountains, they crossed Lombardy, Central Italy, plundered, burned down, led, as the Lutherans say, by the providence of God to punish the free Rome, and immediately began there to carry out the will of the Lord. Without any siege, without having besieged the city, without having locked it up, without having weakened it through hunger and disease, but forced in the face of many precarious circumstances to either win or perish at the first attempt, they stormed the eternal city, for all new believers the latrine of the world now, the gruesome seat of the Antichrist, "the devil's nest" with Luther - the "nest of the devil" - with makeshift ladders made of vine planks in the misty dawn of May 6.
- Sacco di Roma - took its course.

IL SAC CO DI RO MA -
T H E CATH O LI C KAI SER A N D
THE CHURCH IS CRITICIZED WITH
PAN IERN U N n **LUTH ERANS DEx** POPE

Among the first casualties on the Imperial side was their commander-in-chief, the connétable Charles of Bourbon, the man who - only two days earlier punished by the great excommunication - could still have saved Rome from the worst. After two defeated assaults, however, he placed himself in the lead and, sinking his foot on a ladder rung, immediately fell to a bullet. Enraged by the death of their popular leader, the attackers now overcame the walls and 3o ooo Spanish marauders and German lansquenets, pouring through the streets like devils in the flesh, massacred everything that desperately threw itself at them or tried to escape defencelessly. Heroically fighting militias were beaten almost to the last man and fleeing Swiss.

-Everything that was found in the streets had to die, whether young or old, woman, man, priest or coin.

The reports from both sides agree that no one and nothing was spared. Fires were thrown into the houses, the sick in the S. Spirito Hospital were stabbed as well as the inmates of the neighboring orphanage. The defensive readiness u n d e r this pope was all in all low, the cosmopolitan city was paralyzed; it sank, writes Gregorovius, before the spears of the countrymen and the trumpets of the enemy like Jericho. And one of Frundsberg's captains, the knight Sebastian Schertlin, noted:

• On the eighth day of May we took Rome by storm, beat 6ooo men to death in it, plundered the whole city, took what we found in all the churches and above ground, burned down a good part of the city.

The next day, May 7th, the streets were full of dead and dying people, including many small children thrown out of the windows by the soldiers. And after just a few days

the haze of thousands of unburied corpses filled the city. Plague and famine soon broke out. Many houses, especially the palaces, were crammed with people trembling with fear of death and many were also full of treasures. The palace of the Margrave of Mantua and the Portuguese envoy who was close to the emperor was allegedly looted of zooooo ducats on the very first night, as many bankers had also fled there with their money; loot with an estimated value of *i* 5o ooo ducats was taken from the palace of Cardinal Enkevoirt, and an estimated value of zoo ooo ducats from the houses of Cardinals Valle and Gesarini. As sympathizers of the emperor, these cardinals had believed themselves to be out of danger.

However, they did not spare the homes of imperially-minded people, even the homes of Spaniards and Germans, and blew up resisting palaces. Cardinals, such as Thomas Cajetan, who had opposed Luther i 5 i 8 at the Diet of Augsburg, or the old, imperially-minded Cardinal Ponzerta, were dragged through Rome bound and b e a t e n , but only after he had been robbed of his buried zo ooo ducats. People were still searching for gold in gardens and graves, in canals

and cesspools, people were ransomed from harm to those bound, *oh* under threat of death, oh under diabolical tortures, countless high ransoms, often paid 6oooo florins, the bishop of Potenza, an imperial, *chewed* his way free three times and was nevertheless murdered. -In the whole of Rome," reports one account, "no mortal over three years of age was found who did not have to buy his way out." Those who could not were first tortured, then liquidated. Many an ordinary servant of war came - in the twinkling of an eye - to zo ooo, yes, soooo ducats.

Most of all, churches and monasteries were taken, especially as they also contained large quantities of goods that had been transported there. Even the national church of the Germans and the Spaniards was looted, as well as Sancta Sanctorum, the holiest chapel in the holy city. The coffin of Julius II was looted, precious works of art, magnificent glass paintings and manuscripts were destroyed and Raftael's Flemish wallpaper was sold off. The most sacrosanct treasures were stolen, consecrated hosts desecrated, the sweat cloth of Veronica, the heads of the apostles, the holy spearhead, which a German soldier waved around while attached to his own mirror. Even the most ridiculous relics disappeared, such as (through Ritter Schärtlin) the rope on which Judas had hanged himself. And Spaniards, Lutherans and Italians, suitably costumed, mimicked the priests' ceremonies in grotesque scenes.

Many monks were murdered, many were sold as prisoners of war, clergymen had their noses and ears cut off. The eighty-year-old bishop of Potenza, who was unable to pay the ransom, was immediately massacred. The lansquenets had even promised God that they would kill all the priests. And the most monstrous atrocities were committed against the nuns, presumably without any such agreement.

They played dice on the high altars of St. Peter's, soft there with hookers, with half-naked hetaerae made of chalices, while in the side aisles, in the Sistina and other chapels there were stabled horses, ßulls and manuscripts as litter among them. The most noble and richest ladies of Rome were the object of the most primitive soldiers' amusements; they disgraced them in front of their husbands and parents, had their w a y with marquises, countesses and baronesses,

and long afterwards - the re

liquors of the Sacco of Rome". The lecherous Spaniards in particular, who were said to be the worst of all, seemed to prefer raping children, while the wild Germans, the "hommen Landskriechte", preferred torturing cardinals. Again and again, Spaniards and Germans fought over the loot, and it almost came to a battle, for which the Germans had already brought inherited cannons into position. As the Pope was unable to pay the sums demanded by the occupiers, Rome was once again plundered, in some cases even more horribly, with two thirds of all houses destroyed, four fifths uninhabited and the surrounding area resembling a **desert** for fifty miles.

The spoils of the Sacco di Roma were estimated, perhaps exaggeratedly, at zo million gold ducats - with z3o ooo the Pope could have prevented it, had he spared the world the outrageously bloody spectacle that the soldiery of the highest secular lord of Christendom put on in the city of its highest spiritual head in a truly singular manner, so to speak.

On q. May, Clement had called for a crossroads against the Emperor's army, which was only three hours away from Rome - these Lutherans and Marans, whose leader, Bourbon Blofi, wanted provisions and free passage to Naples and would probably have spared the city for a large sum of money. But Clement had fled to Castel Sant'Angelo, as had thirteen cardinals and several thousand Romans, many of whom were represented on the bridge to the castle, and on May 5, when panic was already spreading through the city, the pope, according to the Mantuan envoy, had -the best courage-.

Two days later, however, he negotiated with the Imperial forces and wanted to surrender to Grofimut Barts. Of course, he also made contact with the Ligist army, which was approaching, but then turned back. In the meantime, an attempt to free him had also failed; the plague and famine were raging in Rome and the imperial forces were threatening to storm Castel Sant'Angelo and, if necessary, to blow up the Pope and the cardinals. Clement finally capitulated aiTi y. Ju*•S*7 He closed ai

The emperor, who had little idea of his fate, publicly lamented Rome's catastrophe, mourned it, secretly enjoyed it, but otherwise passed everything off as providence, as Gorre's punishment. He coldly and prudently kept the pope in harsh captivity for seven months before he finally returned to Rome via Orvieto and Vierbo at the emperor's request on October 6, r 5x8, "a miserable, torn corpse before our horrified gaze - which was primarily his own fault.

Clement had thanked both Charles and Francis I for his liberation. However, when the war that had meanwhile broken out over Naples, like the one in Northern Italy, did not end in favor of France as he had hoped, but in favor of Spain, he finally committed himself to Charles, who began a regiment of terror in the Kingdom of Naples. But of necessity he now saw his advantage and that of his country, which he never lost sight of and which outweighed all other considerations in many decisions, back in the emperor's camp. He concluded the Peace of Barcelona with him in June, while the Turks were already storming into Vienna, and in December the
Peace of Bologna and crowned Charles V dOft affl *4 February i y3o
emperor, perhaps the most powerful in the empire since Charles
"the Great: the last coronation of an emperor by a pope,
but no longer in Rome.

But even after this, Clemens approached France again, and no doubt again for dynastic reasons. And when he married his young grandniece Catherine de Medici to the second son of the French king, Henry of Orléaiis, the future Henry II of France, in Marseille at the end of October i y 33, he once again held secret talks with Francis I, which understandably aroused the emperor's suspicion. *

During Clement's pontificate, the Reformation was greatly consolidated in Germany, it was also introduced in Sweden, the separation of the English Church from Rome was brought about by Henry
VIII, the Spaniard Francis-co Pizarro conquered and destroyed the Inca empire in Peru - but that will be discussed elsewhere, if I have the chance.

ÜAPST CAU L I)L 1 5 3 45 4 9)
TÜ Rr EN C R IEG E RÖ M ISCH E INQ UIS ITI ON
AND ITS COUNCIL OF C AI SER S IM
CH MA LKA LD IC K R IEG

When Clement VII succumbed to prolonged suffering in September i 5i4 -'--, he was succeeded as pope by a man who would later claim that his predecessor had taken ten pontificate years away from him - an allusion to the fact that Clement VII had been the pope for ten years.
the conclave i 5a3. However, he had already been
narrowly escaped the papacy. In October i s34 , however, he made it in two days and after a unanimous vote, albeit
now 7 years old, ailing, but diplomatically capable, clever, be-
calculating and with enormous willpower.

Alessandro Farnese, as Paul 1 534** J49) with the nickname - Cardinal Unterrock - (- 33) was previously known, came from a family associated with the arms trade and owed his
The rise of his beautiful sister Giulia, painted by Titian, married Orsini and favored mistress of Alexarider VI. The Bor- gia pope had married the 3-year-old Alessandro Farnese, who had received a humanist education in Rome and Florence, thanks to the services of his
Sister Giulia, La Bella, brought into the so-called Holy College
and appointed treasurer of the church. And of course, as a true Renaissance prelate, Famese also had a mistress himself, who made the cardinal the father of three sons and a daughter, Costan- za. Julius II and Leo X had several of these children; Pier Luigi, the eldest, was an unrestrained lecher and special favorite of his father, who made him gon- faloriiere, commander-in-chief of the papal troops and duke of Parma (hereditary possession for almost two centuries).
of the Farnese) and Piacenza, where he• 547 was murdered with Charles V's consent. After all, eight papal descendants ruled there as dukes in the direct line.

However, Paul III not only had four children, he also indulged in excessive nepotism, although this was nothing new. Already
• 5i4. shortly after his election, he made two of his grandsons cardinals, namely Alessandro Farnese, Pier Luigi's son, at the age of

at the age of fourteen, grandson Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santafiora, the son of his daughter Costanza (married to the count of the same name), at the age o f i6. Both cardinals, still studying in Bologna at the time, were showered with bishoprics, abbeys and priories and were given the most lucrative key offices in the Curia.

Paul III made his grandson Alessandro governor of Spolero, governor of Tivoli, elevated him to vice-chancellor at the age of fifteen, when he also received the Tre Fontane Abbey near Rome and the archbishopric of Avignon, and had him appointed vice-chancellor from 1538, when he was eighteen.

]ahren, he also carried out most of the affairs of state. And like the Pope's grandfather, Cardinal Alessandro was also the father of a daughter and lived in Rome on a large fiefdom, like all the Farnese, of course, who soon appeared in the city, first secretly, then publicly, and quickly enriched themselves.

Pope Guido Ascanio was also quickly blessed with benefices and bishoprics. The young cardinal became legate of Bologna and Romagna, became Camerarius, head of the curial financial administration and Patriarch of Alexandria. A third papal grandson, the five-ten-year-old Ranuccio, also one of Pier Luigi's offspring, also received the red hat. And papal grandson Ottavio Farnese received the Duchy of Camerino in the Marches as a hereditary fiefdom, soon exchanged f o r the Duchy of Castro in Lazio.'-

Paul III himself, so often described as a man of transition, was a typical Renaissance pope, despite some compromises, who essentially continued the lifestyle of many predecessors and that of his own prelate period without restraint. Like his cardinals, he threw lavish parties. He organized masked balls in the Vatican, had irivolous plays performed, guest musicians, singers and buffoons. He liked to celebrate luxuriously with his nephews and also invited women (from his clan) to the table. Master of ceremonies Blasius de Martinellis under de 7 February - s3 5 -st: Papa habuit 8 ve1 ro mulieres secum in pra ndio. The pope loved lavish banquets, carnival celebrations, bull and horse races. And also w e n t out on lavish hunts.

Paul III, who at the beginning of his pontificate had three goals, as he said,

He understandably concealed what was perhaps his most important project: the completely unbridled enrichment and elevation of his family, a family policy that preoccupied him incessantly, which placed extreme demands on his forces and consumed them more and more, but above all his relationship with the emperor.

"in the most serious way. From the very beginning, both heads of Christianity were full of mistrust and aversion towards each other" {Seppelt).

However, the Farnese avoided the disastrous seesaw policy of his predecessor, did not want to fall out with either the emperor or the French king and more or less maintained his neutral position for a number of years, much to the annoyance of the two princes. Each of the two monarchs, who fought a bloody war in the later thirties and the earlier forties, which only encouraged Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent to make new advances, tried to win the Pope over to his side with many enticements, and the **Pope** tried to mediate between them, to maintain or establish peace, above all in order to be better able to fight the High Porte together.

The very month after his election, in November i 4, Paul declared war against the Turks to be his most sacred duty. And when Charles set out from Barcelona at the end of May i 535 against Chaireddin Barba- rossa, who was under Turkish suzerainty and in league with Francis L, he declared war on the Turks.

When the Emperor set sail for Tunis with a few hundred ships to conquer Algiers, a small war fleet belonging to the Pope also sailed with him. Paul had also helped the emperor financially and, like the emperor, naturally regarded the venture as a crusade, a holy war, and solemnly blessed it. Charles had also acquired the blessing of the Queen of the Brain Melts through a pilgrimage to the monastery of Montserrat and, of course, a flag with the image of the crucified Christ flew on the mast of the admiral's ship. La Goletra was conquered, then the barbarically plundered Tunis, thousands of Christian slaves were freed, and Paul celebrated the victory with a personally intoned Te Deum with fireworks and dart processions throughout the Papal States.

Encouraged by the fortunes of war {a terrible word), the Holy Father continued to fight against the infidels. He therefore taxed his subjects and burdened the Italian clergy with ever new Turkish tithes, such as i 5i7. s4*.

i4 3, z 'pt. But when, on February 8, r y38, after much effort, he received a

After the Emperor had concluded an anti-Turkish alliance, a new Holy League with the Emperor, Ferdinand I and Venice and solemnly proclaimed it two days later in St. Peter's, when he generously granted crusade indulgences for the new Holy War and the division of the Turkish Empire had already been agreed, the Christians suffered a miserable defeat in September in the naval battle off the rocky castle of Prevesa in the Gulf of Arta. They also failed in a second campaign against Algiers in the late fall of i yqi. And in the following year, the operation of an imperial army massed in front of the Sultan's occupied fortress of Ofen also took a miserable course.

However, the Turkish war was no longer taken seriously by the emperor, who was already negotiating with Barbarossa and considering a peace treaty with the Porte. He gradually receded into the background, not only in his politics, but also in that of the Pope, who meanwhile, while the Emperor wished to see the curial new trality abandoned in his favor, slipped more and more to the side of France, with whom his sympathies had presumably been directed from the outset; and this despite the fact that Francis 1 was quite openly allied with the Turks and also maintained close contacts with the Protestants in Germany, but persecuted them harshly in his own country. But the king also formed a natural counterweight against the Habsburg world power, especially against the Emperor's hegemony in Italy, which was continually discredited by French diplomacy in the Kiirie."

In the meantime, Paul III, not unlike his predecessor, feared the ever-increasing power of Charles and the constriction of the Papal S t a t e s in the north and south.

In the south, the CaiSer ruled over Naples and Sicily, in Milan he appointed• i4 Ferrante Gonzaga, a bitter enemy of the Farnese, as viceroy, in whose place the pope would have preferred to see his grandson Octavio Farnese, Charles's son-in-law. But the

The Pope's nepotistic considerations and entanglements, which considerably interfered with his politics and were mainly due to his taxes, were a problem for the ruler. Against the

Year - i4o rebellious Peruginians, he not only imposed the Interdikt, but also left his son Pier Luigi Farnese with a

The so-called Salt War, which Paul III then also waged against Ascanio Colonna, conquering all the Colonna castles under the supreme command of Pier Luigi, razing some of them to the ground and confiscating around twenty Colonna estates.

There was considerable disagreement between the emperor and the pope regarding their attitude towards the Protestants. For Charles, although a strict "Old Believer" and a staunch advocate of a policy of reunion, it was mainly the "secular" aspects of the religious question, the division of church and faith, that were decisive. -The decisive factor was the current state of the major power-political conflict with France and the question of the extent to which the papacy could be exploited and used to the benefit of his own policies - {Handbook of European History).

For years, both Habsburgs sought to prevent warlike entanglements in Germany and to achieve the unity of the empire, which was so important to them, through peaceful religious talks and compromise negotiations. The Pope, too, **would have** liked nothing better than a religious agreement, but of course at the expense of the Protestants and entirely in favor of the Roman Church. Charles and Ferdinand's policy of mediation seemed dangerous to him and he missed it. He was in favor of pressure, coercion and persecution. For this very reason, inspired by Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, he created the Roman Inquisition with the bull -Licet ab initio-.

as the central authority for combating heresy in all countries. And placed at the head of the - Sanctum Officium - a correspondingly brutal personality, Cardinal Gian Pierro Carafa, a guru of the Spanish Inquisition, who rose from inquisitor to Pope as Paul IV and through whose inhuman strictures, according to K;trdina1 Girolamo Seripando, this Roman Inquisition gained such importance "that one can be

held, nowhere on earth would more terrible and more dreadful judgments be passed ..." In Italy, therefore, protective attitudes and congregations could not survive for long; while Lutheranism flourished in Germany at the time of Paul III, the papacy lost city after city and other territories.'-.

Of course, Charles V was not in favor of negotiating with the German Lutherans out of a pure need for peace and tolerance. However, his wars against the Turks and Francis I bound him and King Ferdinand and virtually enforced "tolerance". For example, he granted the Protestant imperial estates a grant of aid to the Turks on a3. July i y3 z in the Nuremberg Peace of Religion he granted the Protestant estates temporary freedom in matters of faith and stopped the religious trials before the Reicliskammergericht. The Habsburgs operated in a very similar way on i q. April i §3q at the "Frankfurt Anstand" between King Ferdinand and the Schmalkalds. Likewise, in the Speyer Diet of i o. June i 54d, Charles made a series of concessions to the Protestants - all of this only under political pressure and to the great displeasure of the Pope.

But as soon as the Emperor had ended his fourth war with Francis 1 with the Peace of Crépy on September i 8, s 44, he headed straight for war with the Protestants, which he probably only did not lose due to their ongoing "mistakes", missed opportunities and criminal ineptitude f r o m t h e beginning.

For confused by his failures, by the protestant
Intransigently, he changed his stance, ia should now have given his life to prevent "this sect from gaining even more ground". And even if he so readily denied it, the Schmalkaldic War was from the outset a "war of faith", a "war of God". The Pope presented his grandsons Alessandro and Octavio with the cross and banner and, in good old tradition, announced an indulgence - for the common peace and the eradication of heresies. To Charles, however, he immediately granted the considerable sum of zoo ooo ducats, plus zooooo ducats, half the annual income of the Spanish church, as well as x z ooo men of foot and Joo horsemen."

But even before this war was won by the emperor {who, suffering from gout and bladder, took part in it in such a state that people thought the Spaniards were only carrying his embalmed corpse), even before the war was won by the emperor, indeed even before he struck the decisive blow, The pope, frightened by the successes of his ally, not only stopped the already meagre subsidy payments, but also withdrew his troops from Germany, which, as he wrote to Charles, "have now dwindled considerably". He now saw Charles V as the real enemy, even more so than the Lutherans. But he, on whose side Protestant imperial estates were also fighting, above all Duke Moritz of Saxony, sneered that he was very grateful that Paul 111 had freed him from this Italian rabble, who had only done harm, but he was becoming more and more convinced that the Pope had "forced him into this war ... with the intention of corrupting him. And obviously the Holy Father, whom the emperor accused of his - French disease - in a particularly perfidious play on words, would not have disliked it if Charles, after his victory over the Schmalkaldeans in southern Germany, had been defeated by them in northern Germany. But in the Battle of Mühlberg on the Elbe - not a battle, according to Me- lanchthon, a running away - Charles V put an end to the French on a¢. A p r i l s47
the Schmalkaldic War with about fifty of his own dead and
more than zooo dead of his opponents.'-

The breakdown in the relationship between the emperor and the pope was not

Finally, the Tridentine Council of ' l ' 545-- i 6j), the great council with which
where the Counter-Reformation actually begins.

Constantly opposed by the French king with all means at his disposal, harshly rejected by the Protestant princes and only granted by the Pope after a full decade, there were different, albeit then bridged, views between the latter and Charles on the priority of the issues {reform consultation or treatment of the doctrine of faith). The sharpest tension between emperor and pope, however, arose ebendanials, r yqy, through the transfer of the Council of Trent to Bologna, i.e. away from the imperial and towards the papal sphere of power. One

The pretext was that there were cases of typhus in the city, and the explanation that the (long-planned) transfer had been carried out without the Pope's knowledge was certainly untrue. He would never believe this, declared the utterly outraged Emperor, whose great hope of Protestant participation in the Council had thus been dashed, to the papal nuncio Girolamo Verallo in an audience on i4 . April i yq7 in Plauen, ten days before the
Battle of Mühlberg. And replied to the remark that the Pope
could not revoke a council decision, he knew long ago that His Holiness was turning the matter according to their wishes. -The Pope only thinks about prolonging his life, enlarging his house, accumulating money ... We know him: he is a stubborn old man who is working on the downfall of the Church. '2

T H E AU GS **BURGE** R ReLI G I ON S **FRIE** D EN - NE U **ES RIGHT A N** D N **EU ES AN REC HT**

Paul III certainly did as little to bring about this downfall of the Church as his successor Julius III (i5 yo--i y yy), Giovanni Maria
Ciocchi del Monte, which is perhaps even a little better (actual-worse) prerequisites.

For even though the new pope emphasized his zeal for religion and the Council right at the beginning of his pontificate in a speech **on io. March, he** emphasized his zeal for religion and the Council - what quickly made him popular, although he looked so unappealing that it was difficult for **artists** to portray him, was his immense addiction to pleasure and the satisfaction of certain pleasures of the people, about which he by no means forgot his own affinity. He appointed Pietro del Monte as prefect of Castel Sant'Angelo, his nephew Ascanio della Corgna as commander of the guard, his brother Baldovino as governor of Spoleto, his son Giovan Batrista as regent of Fermo and Nepi and as Gonfaloniere of the church, and he elevated the sons of his sisters to purple bearers. Yes, a boy he had picked up off the street as a legate in Piacenza - so to speak - and

He had him adopted by his brother, made him his monkey keeper and, at the age of seventeen, also a cardinal. Regardless of the scandal he caused, he showered him with benefices in idolatrous love, gave him several abbacies and made him secretary of state, although we can leave open whether the pope was the father of the boy's lover or both.

Julius III, who glorified the -hilaritas publica-, the common merriment, on a medal, pleased the crowd with his laziness, his joyfulness, his disregard for ceremonial, his coarse jokes, idioms, the promotion of carnival, his fondness for festivals, races on the corso, bullfights. The third Julius enjoyed pomp and splendid feasts, to which he liked to invite the cardinals as well as women. He indulged in luxury and gambled for high stakes. In short:

-The pope's main occupations, writes the Catholic papal historian Kühner of the former president of the Council of Trent, were masquerades, bullfights, hunts, card games for large sums of money and banquets, which, in keeping with his nature, degenerated into ordinary merrymaking." Or as Ranke, as so often gently, if not beautifully, formulated it, the harmless pleasurable life at his villa was enough for him.

5o not quite. Even if it is almost astonishing, given all the Pope's need for pleasure, that he still found time for some ecclesiastical politics; for example, that he allowed himself to be led by Charles V into a war against Duke Otravio Famese, a wretched worm, as he said, the grandson of his predecessor Paul, a war that was dangerous, very costly and, moreover, unsuccessful for the Pope.

Just as Julius III has no other great successes to show, neither politically nor ecclesiastically. Even Ludwig von Pastor, who goes to such great lengths to deprive oblivion of what his misunderstood hero "did for Rome and the Papal States" ("in particular his concern for strict justice"), is not even aware of the historian of the popes, who at least has something to say on the subject.

-The most embarrassing impression is that Julius III, instead of maintaining inner contemplation, behaved in an almost naive manner like the great lords of the Reformation.

naissaiice period with comedies, court jesters and card games."

Even in the year of the Pope's death, in September i 55 , the the Peace of Augsburg. It was **not** motivated by theology, but by ecclesiastical politics and above all accommodated the interests of both Protestant and Catholic princes, but in particular secured the possession of the church estates confiscated up to i 5 y z for the princes and imperial estates who professed the Augsburg Confession - the - German cantons of lip service-, as Theodor Lessing spotted, who were quite willing to -participate in the new movement to the utmost limit of their own advantage".

The Peace of Augsburg meant that Charles V's goal of preserving the religious unity of the empire on the basis of the Catholic confession was abandoned. The right of the emperor (who had scruples about participating in Augsburg and abdicated soon afterwards) to determine the confession in accordance with the principle -Ubi unus dominus, ibi una sit reli- gio , which only later became the better-known formula Cuius regio, eins religio (To whom the land belongs, the religion belongs) - was now abolished. But now the imperial estates claimed this right. This meant that the princes, the imperial aristocracy and the imperial cities had a free choice of religion. From then on, they could choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism, a right that was first granted to them by the Diet of Speyer i 5xy, but was now finally recognized. The subjects, on the other hand, remained bound to the decision of their obedience and remained completely dependent on the right of compulsory confession, the so-called ius reformaridi. Subjects w h o did not wish to accept the religious beliefs of their superiors could disappear after the sale of their estates and emigrate.

The Peace of Augsburg, a compromise that defied many un- which w a s initially only intended as a provisional arrangement and naturally rejected by the Pope - now Paul IV - became definitive, was confirmed by the Peace of Westphalia (i 648) and remained imperial law until the fall of the Empire in i 8o6. The so-called Peace of Religion particularly promoted

the sovereign church regime. There was no sign of genuine tolerance or freedom of conscience. The unrestricted practice of religion, so vigorously claimed by the Lutherans, was by no means granted to Catholics on their territories (and vice versa). And Zwinglians, Calvinists and Anabaptists were completely excluded."

Because when it comes to peace, religions have only ever thought of their own.

ANNEX

NOTES ON THE EIGHTH VOLUME

The complete titles of the secondary literature cited are given on p. 48® 3 ff., the complete **titles of** more important sources and abbreviations in the list of abbreviations on p. 3oq f., authors of whom only one work has been cited are **usually** cited in **the** notes **by** name only, the other works with keywords.

I . DAPITG L

Dia At rxxce K'nrs IV. of LuxEM

BURc-BOrttaEH (I 3$ó-I §}8) uxo

CLEMENs VI. (^fi4*-*3 S* l- *!^

PREvIOuSE oF Rznxiss'ncz-

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5 Taddey öi . Gregorovios lt/x, 66c f. Müller-Martens, Karl lV, jo5 f. Io7 f. J re ff. 3 ry. Kavka re, cf. y. Seibt, l,arl N. 1zr ff- r z8 f 13.1

6 Tadd 6T4- Müllcr-Mertcns, Xarl IV. 3i i. J. Pfinner cited by Stoob

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8 LMA II may f. Kühneq Lexikon i iy. Kell ^37- HKG 111/a 39g f. **Seppelt IV 135 f.**

9 Pitrer VIII q6-i > 737. LMA V 5*4' *+9 - zi qq. LThK I' 68 y f. HKG Illfz, Aoi, i 3 f. Chamberlin 14- 5taob y8

JO WerzerfXPeIir II $9q. Pierer X 73- LMfi K s®i- z iqq. Kelly z32. HEG II 66o. HKG 111/z, Joo. Lanfrey points out that the purchase price for Avignon had not been paid. Gregorovius Hf t. 7°1 Seppelt IV i 3 . Goniard jo6

11 Wetter/Welre 1 597 HKG III/z, 4^*. 'zj. Cawthorne 37

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14 Corvin i6a f. Cawthorne ij7

15 Wcinhold7* . Chamberlin i y§ f. Cawtliorrit i3y ff. Ygl. on salvation

geschichte LThK IV³ 1336ff. bes. 1338

16 Wetzer/Welte II 597. Hergenröther II 615. Hauck V/2, 595f. Seppelt IV 159. Cawthorne 139f. Tuchmann 41

17 Gerh. v. Reichersb. De invest. Antichr. 1,19. Vgl. ders. de aedif. Dei 40. Gregorovius III 467ff. Davidsohn IV 2. T. 273. Grupp IV 379. Vgl. außer dem 5. Kapitel «Ausbeutung» in Bd. III der Kriminalgeschichte auch die Zusammenfassung der sozialen Frage bei Deschner, Abermals 410ff. 419ff.

18 LMA I 1409ff. HKG III/2, 423f. Hauck V/2, 629. Seppelt IV 171f. 184ff. Davidsohn IV 2. Teil 305. Heer, Mittelalter 549. Chamberlin 154. Tuchmann 41, 86. Kolmer 146, 149

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31 LMA <l*7 ^94- +y . UK X° j z 8. dwlaxkon 6 74. Gregm rovius II/z, 66z*-7* f. Hocnsb oek \ $j. probably 'yx ff. -- +7 Seppelt IV t y+-'49- *^P9*$_t$ /5chwoi ^ **9 Kühner, Das Imperium xsq. Tueh- man pp, 7 ay, z zz. Hawthorne i 4of. On the plague in general, see Stoob 6n ff. Cf. also the following. Note.

32 WetzrrMelte II 5qq. LMA I ^ '44- *°^4 7 *47 f. LThK lV' r3sy. Seppelt N i 4i. Seppclt/ Schwaiger ziq. 8rrnharr i 8q. Gon- tard 3.1O 3lg. Kübnez, The lmperi- um zz3. Schimmelptennig, The Beginnings z8 ff. Roman forgeries *i 7 ff.

33 Betzer/TVehe II p8. US P i g$_4$. 3.3 j. Hergenrötlier II 6 i6 f. Hauck V/2 i7 tt. Heiter, Altkirchli- autonomy x8q. Guillemain I am particularly obliged here.

iii f. Sepprlr IV i 36 ff. Tuchmann i4. 4- Bcutin, Kur Problematik des Antiklerikalis>-- ®*s* f. Sch4-£ ° 4

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3i Kelly z 8. Kühner, Das lmperium zz§

z. Cat fiTSL

INNOZENZ VI. (1352–1362)

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HR HEN K* tG85 (3#8- ##))

i Tuchmano i 9i

z Zit, after Chamberlin io, Vgi. Gregorovios II/* 7®

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5 Hoensbroech I xö, x59- l +997l **441 f. II 436 f. 518, III 188 f. 193, Cohn 183**

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Seite 39–54

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iq LMA V jz8 f. VIII Tucbmann949 i z6 f. i jo f. i jq.

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3. ka*œEr

FNR ïSTL ICNES ÎÎAVERŁIELEN D LTt'ĺD

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iq Syn. Men l888) c. x. Syn. cologne l i z66) c. y Thom. Sunima thtol. z, ' 9' 7 ^- z ad i LThK Il zpz. LThK X' I394 i . i jqy f. Snckur z8 y ff. sammerlad II57 f. Hoffmann, The Opinion q36. Lea J

o. Group ll 8?, V 63. Hügii*s- >'-dera 5, 53, 77. v. Schubert I 345, 3Ö6, 11 6i6. Linhardt nj, f. zo8 ff. with numerous sources. Kuujo 86 f. roy ff. i 5 z f. zog, zz6, zl8, zq9, z 5 f. Nowak xy . Heidacher yq f. Kzhl 68 f. Yoigt 33 Hellinger qq ff. Epperlein, Herrschaft und Volk zo ff. Franz zy, qy. Endres i 6i ff. esp. 76 ff. Feine 9s. Appelt 6 ff. Struve (' p6y) §g ff. Tsddey i a 6 ¥ Gurjewitxh -7t *!-

zo LThK 11' i zoq, III' 3oq f. X' io7 8, Group 111 373- Lm l z8d f. Kaliicber qt. Tüflhle 1 los f. Zoepf}t The ßi$-tum Augsburg and its bishopric in the ÄdilTelalter g3 . BüttrierWerner4 0. Franzen ryz

* 7 Sire. Tot. l6 z) c. . LMA VI 34' r z2. Böhmer ntn. Soinmerlad 1 3o7 , j xy f. ff jy /f. 874 f. Starke j z f; Xali- scher xy, 8p f. p6. Group lY 4 +7-- Schubert II y§z. Schnürer II z y8. Vin- cke, Scaar end Kirche I. Helfer yj ff.

R. Herrmann, ThüringiSche Kirchengeschichte 1 3. Pirenne$_H$ z f. 6z, 8z ff. i i 8 f. ziq. Hauck III q, Tüchle I roy. ßehn fy i f. Oh7 8 ff. Schlesinger lI iq8 f. Lürge, History of the dcutschm Agrcrve version 6. culican iq3. Herrmann, E., Slawisch-grrmanische Beziehungen i i z ff. Hubatsch, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche 1.3. Slicher 4- Diedcrich j§y ff. Brank(ack jc,5. 5t£uvc 6off. Kuhn 45- edenthal 33

zz Gesia Alber, z¢. LMA V ^^ +7' VII i 68o lKroescheli). Kobex Deposi- tion 7o5. Lecky II i 2q f. &isse1 z9, dx$. Soinmtrlad 11.36 f. Kalischer io f. Steffen 3y ff. 4o, 46 ff. 5o ff' v. Schubert II 5q i ff. Lonhard qz f., i i 6 ff. Rcincke 5d. Schmid, Ptrso- nenforschung x5 i. Falck q z. Lass- mann zd i ff. Winter 8 Epperlein,

Farmer's bedding 23

23 Schairer 24, v. Schubert II 543. Stern/Bartmuss 259. Graus 339 f.

x Cap. 23,32; 44,15 f. 46,9; 62,12; 72,5; 73,3; 138,7; 154,1; lt. 105,21; t§ I t; - ^.7 U. A. Sommerled 11 dq f. Grupp Il 4° FfChtenau, Das karolin- Fische Imperium i6off. i 88 f. Epper- lein, Baiiernbedrückung i j f. Njeus- sychin y6i. Müller-Mertens, Charlemagne 7 4' 99 ff. Stern/ßart- inoss ia ff. Prinz qy

xy Sommerlad II 49 ^4 5 ' i I j, Schnü- rer 11 zo, Müller-Martens, Charlemagne too f.

z6 LMA 1 i y, g3, Vl i j y i f. Coulton zj , Bosl, i early forms of society iq7. Mollat 68 f. 7 i, q8 f.

^7 *Adam* v. Brem. Gesta Haaimab, z,6y. LMA 1 i 2 i f. II 34 5 . 6f. IX z§o. Group * s ! Gerdes yz, Scköffel t zo f,

z8 LMA VIII 7+ I ff. LThK IX' i 5 z6, Grupp V 6z f. with all &legcn, Epperlein, Herrschaft und Volk i ff. Steins AoA, ß98 $f. ß5o ff.

*9 LThK V' 6 i 8, Keller zg y. Donin 111 *i on* ff. See also Auer z6of.

30 LMA 1 8r4. LThK I' q i 8 f. Kober, Deposidon ;o*. Gopp M 86Scein-

bach Pq. Pirenne d3, NjeussyChin 33S, Franz x8. Angrnendt q i 3

31 LMA V i z i 8 ff. (Parisstl, Kober, Die kiirprrlícbe Züchtu^B 4-*KolÍ-scher zi, 5 f. 58. Noggler q. Davidson I boof. IV 3rd part i $. Group 11 zy I, IV yoi f. Scheuten 6i If. Gerdm Krauscn ij8If. Heer, Mitielalter i z i f. Maieq Die Verwandlung ai f. zx i, 3i 8. Haller 11 ig 3. Kawerau ^7* Schfflm<^^ 7- Epperlein, Mr. schaft und Volk i 38.

LMA +4*3 f. (Rüther),Sommerlad I zoe, zyq, z7y, zq¡. Crupp III V 371Ê. Metiler zoi, zi q If. *34. ^4f Weller rob. Hóman 1 j i o. Kawerau i 8. G. Zimmermann, Ordensleben i 5 A

30 LMA Vl iq85 ff. LThK Vlll' i Hz, Grupp II z5y, III j f. Mectler *4 - *truve 6i

34 Vito Eigil, c. 5. LMA VII d J. Srheu- °^ 47- > If. GrUpp ll ivy, III39. Werner 3q f. BüttnerfWerner 4º. Scĺilesinger II i83 f. z i 6, Schmid, Miinchsgemcinschafi i 8. Zimmermann G., Ordenslebrn i 3 If. zi i ff.

Vlll35 Vehw, Gcschichte der k)einen I+ §7 y, schen Hôfe I p. Schulcg ff. 1O7+ Group III +4 5- *'-htflft8UÄS-fiese und Laster 68, Gontard zd6 f.

36 S. HiJdcg, ep. z z6 (PL j 97. 338.1 LMA Y z3 f. LThK V^ zo. Grupp lll 3¢Q, Weller 8a f. Cf. you DA m. Jg. H. i. i9". 3*7ChC£54 Reich, de aedific. Dei j6, LMA fV i3zof. V i8¢8. LThK' k r 3 f. Jäct I 6j, Heidingskldtr 5 . schalte i4- Doelle q, zz, xy ff. p. Hauck IV 4°3 f. Davidsohft 1 i7 ff. roy. Lekai 6y, 3 i y. attackers through ger II 71 ^ 9 ° . 3°s ff. 3.30 f. An- to be extinguished:

dreôs* °7' Taddty, Das Kloster Heiningen J8-f 7^ ff. qof.

38 Augost. De doct. Christ. z, z , 3q, Leander, Lib. de instit. virg. it, LMA 111 i 8oz f. Buchholz iq. f.3.7 BFowit 17° IlgCnendt 4 yq Vivi Bennpn. 8, Grup 1 4 f. i j. Fresachcr I7o, Zotptl, Oas Bisium Augsburg uad seiot Cischofe im Mittelalter yz. °4' *' 4+ KálÍfelz 3fi} Schlesinger Il a i. Lonhard yz. 57**32** i i 6If. r sz

Sr3. Syn. Tot. l y8q) can. zo. Gropp 13.6. gerdes e . Fichtenau, The karolingian lmpcrium i y8. n|eussychin j36 4^A IX 63 x ff. 4º, 6.6, 49- LThK X' i¢õ6 If. Hauck lV 3¢O, Scheuteni 6, Lcksi s4 ¢3 Hiilscher zy f. Lckai by f. 54-

44 LMA IV i 653 f. VII idq. Hauck IV I f. We -+ *74. >kai 60 f. Pireri- ^* 7^-

4y fi II nt i ot VI 97 , LThK f' Die 49S' ' * 5- III' zyq, 88q, Vl' io i3, X° 96o. Kawerau i 6i ¢6Pierer II 6yq. LMfi l i 6 i q f. deut-14 t. z7 8o, IX 6.7 . LTkK !!' ^ 9S- !' *S9- !!!' 345- IX j6q. 36s. Hölscher zi f. We1l-r zyzff' Epptrlein, ßauerbedriickung 3off.

S7- ^47- *^a- **PP^*'^'^ 34 5-** 3 53' SchlesingerTI z r y, xz f. Neill with further literary references. Sli- , Novy s-. Mollat 6y. **37** Gerhoh v. Hauck IV jy z f.: -numerous Dörfer have thus been vemichrei the -. Cf. such H. Ginger, Kölner Zisterzienscr, in AHVN Htfi type, j5. In England the Zisier- weiler SchIesin-zienscr their aristocratic Wuciier formally

Seiie io7- e

Zöckler ąią. Zurn Bsuernlegcn dtr Zisterzienser inn Osten siidlich von Breslau) vg1, such Kossmann z63 ff.

47 '4°4- '7 °- 47- Epperlein, peasant oppression şo If. Engel/Epperkin jyj

ą8 Lł' łA I z6zp, IX 6jy f. 64 If. Rioerc y. Bosl, History of Bayem 177. deer foot i48

4q LMA IV qoi. Pfsff-Ginsberg 5s f. Epperlein, The so-called Freilassung 92 f.

50 Lex Alam. 1,1. Lex Baiuv, 1,1. LMA IV qoi, V iqx7 f. Müller-Martens, Charlemagne 6q f.

y i LhtA N qoi f. Voigt ty f. Epperlein, Die sogenannte Freilassung qt f. qõ ft. too. Ders, Herrschafi and Volk 151 f.

yz Crupp N i6 f. Epperlein, Die sogenannœ Freilassung q6 ff. with the source documents

ş3 Dopsch II z8, 33 If. KosminskifSka- skiR 3iO f. Epperlein, Die sogtnann- te Frcilassung qz f. ieo f. Dcrs. Herrschaft und Yolk zg If. for ff. zj z, Korsunskiy xoy

j Bonifat, ep zo. LMA I zo6 čč. Sommerlad I 31$ If. **Pau|us** f ŞŞ f. Æräckmeyer 43 f.

y5 LhlA I g3 f. II zq ş f. 3o6. IV t $6ö (with further explanation for Fînønz- bcdarf. v zoy f. r j9q, i 873.
i zjz, r y59 ff. viI r i 3. LThK I' iz6. IV' 8qd, VI' 7q' VII' i zi 6,X' *Nos z-* HKG Ill/r, i 57- who, z82. Janner I y rd f. Dresdner -4° f. Sim- son ß s63. Lea 1 ąo. Davîdsohn IV
3. part1 5, r5. Group II zq8 f. V x8z. Vehse, Das Privileg Clemeiu' zi 8 If. esp. j a8 If. Mehnert top. Andreas 7ń- ^^ ^ 330 f. Thompson jo8 (referred to the wcstgoŃscfien Bischõfe of the y. century, but also to the Roman ones). Schleminer +7°- Störmer - 7i- - <eytq In the Harmonie 219, 225 f. Borst 36 ff. bcs. ąy

Ş6 Capit, Paderb. 4- 78 T· PägFt. ÛU¢¢t¢lt. ş ,z. Paen, Valîc. i i 8. Syn. v. Tribur (8yş) C. 7- -Gcraubtes Ki üengut isc dr¢ifacłt zu erscczcn-. **Lex AJamann.**
^ * ^ I -7- ßJ· also Lrx ßaiuv, i,x. LThK II' 8zz ff. summerlad i z66. Group V ø8 ø. Noethlichs
' 3*–*53

7 LMń+7^ ' k 14*^*Vłll z ø8d if. z6zt. Nyłandør j j. Epperleio, construction
ernb¢dńickung 6t, pt If.

ş8 Löhr zt f.

Şy LMA Î 3 , I j6g f. Rösener, Bøu¢rn inn Mittelalte° *4°- ^4 -

do LMA I4*7- LThK 1' 392. Heer, Mittelãlte+ 47 . Epperlein. Herischaft und Volk. 42 ff. 46 ff. 55 ff. 253 f. Njeussychin 587. Franz 21

6i has quote from Kosminski/Skaskin I i i 6 f.

6x LMA II z^4 y z8, IV i qĄ f. 9 ' 345- d -Lrxikon s, i i . dtv-Atlzs Weltgeschichte 1 i8y, Kosminskîfskaskîn I jq6 f. o6 f.

63 Kosminskif Skaskin I ąz# f. quo

*4 Petr. Venerab. ep. i, z8, quoted according to Kos- mînski/skaskin i i 6th LMA 1177
Kosminski/Skaskin i i 6th >**7

6 LMA I i fi2 If. i yy6 If. i 6o f. VII 223 If. Rösener, Gturidherfschaft jy3 If. ş6y f. Ders. Bauem zzi f. z5ç. On the various plowing devices in the High Middle Ages (Dtutsrh- land) see Bcnrzien a5 ff. Deschnes Opus Diaboli i7

66 According to EHers xio f.

6y LMA IV 5 z i, i who f. V i iqs. VU 775 Pirenne i89. Ehlers z i i If.

Rö-

sener, Bauern in Mittelalter 253. Geremek 70

68 LMA I 1577, 1579. IV 16, 763. V

x65 f. j x8, q8 i. Ehlers x3o ff.

-}- KAPITE Ł

Dte PJ PSTE Us ßsu V. { 13fi2'- I Ą7°l- CREGOR Xî. (I 37 ^ 37) VflD THE EnDE DE5 AvzGøOŁłES'sCHEl'ł ExiLS

i Hergenröth6£ I *<4

i Kelly zą z

j Gr-B^*^vius Ih3'7®*

4 LMA VIII za8ą.LThK X* 4fi7 @echer/WelteXf'7 . Keller yg f.Fichringer Ț8. HXG III/1, 4 *' 4^ . Georg4S ż y 3 6 , Hergenröther If 6xj, Hoens- brooch I z8 f. lhiti dss Wílmans- ZiutJ, i 67 ff. Gtrgorovius Il/^. 757' 776. Lea l i997) I ąo6, II no, i to,

3*+ ' 43 Ê . III i 4 - WV * °5 -

i 8 y f. Grundmann 11 6o. Tuchmsn i3 z. Chamberlin i yq. Cohn 4 -

ş Chron. Mogunt, - 37 LMA V 973- I> raW), I Ş8 i ff. Taddey s'4 . Kelly zş8ff. The stones Ploetz qq. HEG II 4<4 - pp0Ït IN I y4 If. (here Hampe-Zitar), StO°> 74 f. Cf. "uch the following. Note.

6 LMA Ï 3 I O ÏV hqs ff, V l Ą, VI

g 38, LTHK X' 417. Kühner,Lexikon i z8, Kelly am f. HEG 11 *s8. HKG lIf/z, qo8 f. Hergenröther Il 613 f. Gregornvîus Ills, yyy If. North

?oą f. yo8 ff.$rpprlt lV i ş8 ff. i 6i ff. de Vries y6 ff. 63 f, Kühneq Gtzeittn

^ +7. Ders, Da5 Imperium **7 f. khuchert/schütte 3x8 f. Tuchiøan zjx ff.

7 439- VIII 449' +* 4- LThK X' 417 HKG lIlf-, 4°4 Seppelt IV i6x f. Kühner, DC Imperium

8 LMA YI ry z, UK X ' 4 S7- *7 ząlHKC û*% 4^y f.

9 LMA VIr93z , Kellyzd i f.

^ ^ 7 . Schuchert/5chüne 3z8

Kreischmaÿr >*4' < 'r- pz f. Army,

to LM.ã VI 44s· LThR VIII* 1ą 1, 13é-, Htrgrnröther II 6zi, 6zą. Atiya qz f. Army, KreuZZ-s- i5 . Küliner, The Empire zz7

i x LMA VI iq3Z. > 4 . LThK X' 4T7 t· Kühner, Lexicon 88, ITB. Kel- lŞ 177. ^4°. HKG III/z, o6 ff. Her- genröther Il 6aa. Kretschmayr fi zy. Seppeli lV 163 f, Atiya qj f.

Heer, Kreuziüge i ß

i z Chron. Mogun'- °37LMA IV

71 LTbK IV' iozo. lteIIy xxx. HKG łH/a, ąoq f. Hergenröther U $6z_5$. Gregoroviu- +-. 777- Hoens-

breech I z8 If. 93. +7 . 4iq· Lra II '7'. Sepprlr N i 6q, i }5

i 3 John Wiclif, De Christo er soo advers. Antichr. LMA V s3of. IX 39 i If, LThK X r3 j7 **If. HKG** Ilłfs, y4o If. Stppełc IV tó , Guillem8in i_5 x. Wöhrer 8o ff. 86 ff. qo If. Lambert *4 . Hilsch 45-

14 A V ï djs f. HEG II 6ş ş ff. HKG flVz, za f. GregO£ov'^^ !*^ 77 *- 788, 7pz, 8oz. S¢ppelt IV z6j If. Conrard 31 I. Deschnel, The Cross

s HEG If 6yg. HKG 11**' 4 - P' w t *7- I have followed here and in the next section Grcgorovius II/z, y8o If, y86

i 6 LMA Ił i6ąof. IV zz5 f. Bold 1-exikon 12.9. <° X *43- HEG 11 *ss HKC lIl/i' 4 +. Grrgornvius II/z, 787, 7qz. Scppelt IV *i 69 ł. Ott* i rõ f.

Gontørd j i . Friedenrhal y5

ry Chron. Moø-^ - +37®. Gregorovius Ills, 288 If. Seppelt IV i6q f.

Seite 137–154

ş. K AeITEL
tHe GnOSSE AoEND LitNDîSCHE
Scnisxi' (r j y8-z ą y azw. z z3)
EARNINGS OF
ï'AeSY€ G EG EN EI N
AN DER

I Trickle in LMA I zo

z Cancer in LThK IX' z5q

3 H. Mülltr in LTbK I' t8

4 LMA Ift. '4*9-Kelly z8ş, Kühneą Lcxikon z jo. The lnt-perium z3o lhere K. speaks of "six counter-popes-), Scppelt fV i9j, Stgl x8

5 Chrnn. Mogunt. i jy8 LMA VIII x z8y, LThK X ą ş8 f. Kühner r 30. Kelly ø44' Gregorovius II/ż, 7pş fÏ. Seppelr fV t88 ß. Guillemain i 8

6 Œ'zon. Mogunt. 1jy8, LMA I zo, II *zzą$,* VIII z z8 j f. LThK X'4'î Kühneq Lcxikon no, Kelly zą4 ff. HergenrötJitr 11.630 f. Gregorovius *' 797 fÊ. ÄCØQtÏt Gif ï ÿ I ÏÊ. Guillemain iqq

7 '9 *. 'ss. -^44 . Kelly *4*.'-UG iIVø, ąyy. Grcgorovius \ł/ ø, 8oø f. S<ppelt ÎV z gą f. Guîllernsin **149**

8 LMA I zo, VIII i z86. LThK Víl' 8ą8. Kelly xq f. Gregorovius Hfz, 8oi, 8oą. Hergrnröther II 63 i . Sep-**pelt IV 194, 197ff. 202, 214. Guillemain 149**

q Chron. MOgun - ^37 Ïf. LMA I zo, bzz f. IV j ş If. V zo7ø ff. zyoz. VII r x. Kühncr, Lcxikon zt6 If. HKG lII/z, dq8, Hergenröiher II 63 i f.
Gregorovîus IVa, 8oz f. 8a8. Hauck VU, 7i z f* Stpptlt IV iq§ ff. zo i. Kiihntz, Das Imperium z3 i. Gerlich
2.y ff. Kawera- 71· seg1 3o, Descb-net; The Krenz q8, r ro, i s3

to Chron. Mogunt. i jy9, i 38o. The Small Pauly Il qio f. LMA 1 zo, 44 , Il zuq f. III iqxi f. Grcgorøvi- us fi& 8o4 BSeppek W $j tool

z 1 LMS V ç8j f Vfü zi86. UK X' ty8. HEG I\ 66a, 66z. Kelly z . Grcgorovius IHS, 8o6 f. 8op ff. 8 y4. SepprÍt lV zoi ff. Friedenthal 8z f. i i 3 ff.

11 LMA UI I°37- V q86, VIII 1 z86. LThK Ill' z*4. X' q58 f. Kel r - i HKG lllfz, yoo. Hergenröt£er 11 63ą f. Gregorovius IIfx, 8ia ff. Ngi. also ders. Vl jzo f. esp. note i. Schnürtr III i47 . Srppelt lV zoą If. Gontard 3 7- ËïÍedcnthal r r j ff.

*3 LMA II ą r 6 f. LThK II' y8i. Kelly °47 f. Gï Of-ovîus B/1, 8i 6. Hauck VU, 74q f. Stppeli IV zo6 f. Kühiitr, The Empire z3z

14 LMA lI qly, < **7- **$. Ktlly, *z) 9.* Gregorovius llfz, 8i 6, 8zz. SeppeÍt IV zoq. Friedenihal mo f. Esch ją r. For details on l'lepotis-mus ibid. appendix 1 Jy ff.

15 Hergenröther 11.63.6 Kühner, The ImpĘï-iUfn 3 Z. 7{.

16 Ktlly zq9. Gregorovius IIfz, 8iö f. Sepprlt IV zo9 If. Kühnes Das Impe-rium t3a f. Esch i 38, iqo

17 Kelly zą8. Seppelt IV =o6. £sch 358 If.

t8 LMA II qr6, Y i 6oq f. ziqz, VI 75 ff. Hergenröther II 6z6, 6jo, 634' Gregorovius Ilfi, 8r6, 8iz,Lea 3**' 457- 44.73 f. AO9. To the warlike actions of Boniface IX vgi. also Goldbrunner 4- ^ - Z$ Ê f .

19 Cf. Esch 6z, 8o If. i 38, za6 f. zqo f. 3 $§ J 4i3 f. J Ąg Ñ .

20 LMA 11 i 36q, Hergenrötber II 636, Gregorovius Ills. 8ir ff. 8 is. $cp- pelt IV zo8 f. Esch z6y, z8q ff.

Ocite* s-*7*

he Gregorovius IJ/z 8z3, 8tj f,

zz LMA 1 r86z f. LThK II' zn8. Kelly zqq f. HKG III/z, 5ooff. Hergen- röther II 6g3 f. Srppeli IV zto ff. Guillemain i 5o. Kübaer, The Impe- rium x3j

s3 LMA I< 74 - qjQ, £19/ f. LThK V' 5z i, VIII' 3i 5. HKG Illfz, }}q. Kelly zyo If. z5q, Hwgenröther *6q9.* Gregorovius II/z, 8z6 If. 83o If. Scppclt IV zz3 ff. 131 Ï. Kühntz, The Empire z35

24 LMA1zt, IV z6y5, VI iflq7, xz8x f. LThK VIIf' 3 i y. HKG Illfx› 14 Kelty ijo, zIj f. Htrgtiir6thtr 11 6§q ff. Gregornvius HU, 84x f. Seppelt N st**- ^4°- Jedin, Kltine Konzilsgeschichie 64 . Kühoer, Das Imperium ij6. Segl 3i. Brandmüller, The Council of Constance 1 6 f. Elze/ Repgen qz

sy 373 Ê. VIII i yz3 f. LThK I' 3/O- ÏÜt'ÏÏ/ 153 If. HKG hill, i j, GregorOviUS II -. 43 f. Seppelt IV z o If. Braiidmiiller, Pope and Con- zi1 7 ^ - ff., zi 8 ff.

z6 LMA54 . LThK V' q i f. Kelly >55. GregOfOviU8 * 4 . Mehnert 34' Kawerau y}

*7 Kelly z5 . Hergenröther ll 66y. Gregorovius II/z, 8q6 ff. Hauck V/s, p$8 f. BrandmüJle§ Papsc and Konzi) 71 If' here the Zizaȼ of SoucÏion. Cf. such the (rather apoÏogetic) attempt ßrandmüllern, lnfeliciter tlectus with in Pzpam 3oq H.

-8 LMA VI i 66. Kelly x5 . Gregoroti- us 11/z, 85o ff. 8 6 f. Seppelt N tq3 f. Brandmüller, The Council of Conetan- 79

29 LMA III 8yz f. VII i 868 ff. VIII si qof. LThK IX' 5 y8 f, X' ioqof. Taddey IOd2. I I ^5 ' ^79. HEX il 437 HKG IIIfz, 5¡o. Seppelt IV z d f. Hoyer, Sigmund 3 z. Koller, Sigismund z88 f. Dotzauer, Quellen- kunde '5 Brandmülleq Das Kon- zit zon Konstsnz I 8fi

30 LMA IV 1675. V 546 f. 1402. Kelly zy y. HEG 441b. HKG Ml/x, j 8 ff. Grcgorovius ll/*. s . Hauck *Hz, 96 i* If. 962 ff. qy . Stppelt N zq . Ricder 6i

31 54 ' 4>*. HEG II 44 ' HKG IIfz, o f. Scppelt> °47 Grigulevi£ I z5q f. Rietueck flfl f. Koller, Sigismund zqo. Deschner, Opus Diaboli 9j

3* Dietr. v. Niehrn, Vitu Joh. z, z. LMA III 8$3. 5-{ I $02. f. LThK V' 9 z. **Kelly 256. HEG II 442. HKG III/2,** 5 5 I. GregOrOviuS Iï/x, 86O. H;iiick Vat, q85 ff. Stppelt > *4**f. Hoger, Sigmund 3 jx. Brandmiilltr. The Council of Constance I io.

33 Dietr. v. Niehm, Vit. Joh. z,y, LMA 9fi4' 547- ^4 3 *43 *- C' II4 'z. HKG flV-, j j z f. Gregprovi- us Ït/z, 86o. Haurk **Y/z, y86** f£. xoz6 f. Stppelc IV z t9 If. Falco 3i 6. Friedenihdl AqO 320 ff. Zimmer- mann, Pope's depositions s8 z ff. Rie- ** 97 f. too. Hilsch r 5q f.

34 LMA I i86x If. lV yg6 f. i67 j. LThK V' g}x. Kelly z5o f. z 3, x 6. HKG ^' 553 Grcgofoviu6 lift, 86 r. Hauck Vh, 9q7 If. Seppelt lV a5 z ff. Zimmermann, Fapstahsetzungen z8z ff. Kühner, Das Imperium -i7- Friedenthal 3zy. Hilwh zi7

35 LMA 1 i 8ö3, II x u j f. V i god. HKG 111/t, y I, 56 i ff, disputes the Council's limited reformist commitment.

6. kxrtTR L Jan
Hus uxn niz H if
SStTfiNK R I EGE

i Zit. bci Lechøian i zz
z Lochmsn i xş
3 Zir. bet Hilsch z86
Rieder zio
$ LMA V iy 66. LThK VI' z86, HEG 11 5z6. Hilsch zz f. x9
6 LMA VI 615 f. LThK V' q36 f. VI' iq8y f. HEG II y i6. Sribt, Jan Hus - between Zciien 7 . Herald 4 . Ne- -*-- -- *i-s* Gerwing J5- Hilsch z3 ff.
7 HEG II }xö f. Schrupr -77. Seibt, Jsn Hus - zwischen Zeiten i8
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q Kupisch M i i z. Brandmüller, Hus vor dem Konzil ^4^, Rieder No f.
ro LM K ż3Õ f. LTtì ' 34º f. Hauck Vfz, qi 3 If. q i 6 If. q zj H, Rierneck 4 f. Potter i 6 f. Pblivkø 8 J f. Hledikoká qö, qq. Hilsch 83 f. qx f. i i i f. i i4 f. i i i 8, i to, r s£. Lochman, Varn Ycrsuch 8 if.
¥T NaucL Y/z, 9fi z f. Riemcck z y, y ff. LiguŠ ^ 37 Rieder 3p. Hilsch a 6o, ^- ** ^ ^7 If. On Hieronyntus of Prague cf. Svatoš, 6p f. Cf. also Holeček i 8y ff.
12, LÎVĬÂ Ï 3OT Ÿ 2.Ą I. VI I i fio. LThK *W*- 3qi, X' q i z f. Hauck VU, si4 q38 If. Riemeck 6of. Brandmülles Des Konzil von Koostanz 1.3.8. Hilsch, 3.1.1.4 - 7+ - ^ 4' +9+' i qą, ioi. Cf. tech the time table of M. Polivka in: Scibt {Ed.), Jzn Hue **416**
13 Riemeck 6z f. Hîlsch i8'i
!4 LThK V' 34+. Riemetk 68 ff. Polivka 8y f. Eileen iqq I, zoy ff, z3 H.
15 HEG II 447- Riemtck 8o, 7- Rieder y8 f. 6i f. 6 . Hilsch zj 8 ' *47- *49. *5*. -6j, i67. ®rß0dmülle6 The Council of Constance 1.3 z8. To the Hus' **journey** through Germany see also Machilek i 47 .
16 Grigulević I z56. Riemcck ąj, qi If. f7 Rieder 6z ff. 2o. Hitsch xy i f. zy 8, x6o
17 LMA Vf 63 . Riemeck 8 ø, pa, g8, 1.13 f. Rieder 6z, 8i. Hilsch iqq, xąą, z4q If. xş y ff. VgI. daze also Hrdlîika io3 ff.
r8 Riemtck 7s ff. Ą3 ÿfi *m 7- r iof. Rieder 6o f. 63 ff. 66i 7º- °- Hilsch 49 fÏ. TŞ3 É. < - +7° - ^78. SmolÍk 2f 3
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20 Šmahel 203. Hílsch 255 f. 262, 271, ^7å' *79
21 Grigulević I zòo ff. Riemeck i ry If., to whom I am indebted here, as before, bt- wonders. Molnar i8x. Brandmüller, The Council of ConSraM 1361. Hilsch 1Øÿ Ïf.
22 HEG II j zy. Hauck Via, any iÏ. Grigulevič I z64 **·. Riemeck 83 £f. i or, i z i ff. "The three speeches that Hus did not deliver in Constance are printed int An-

hang i z5 ff. Hilsch x6o, z8o f. Rie- 3i LMA V i3q, xoo . VII q 8, i 868. the 8B. Brandmiiller, The Council of Konstnnz 1 y 6z, 11 i i q ff. i zq ff. HEG II 45 I . Eibl y 58 f. Rieder Mi-1i7 Éf. 3 KB siurck t5 i. Lochman, Vorn Experiment 3A LMA 1 i z f. IV i*7f . HEG ll roz. Above all toliterary Hus im r9. u. zo. P. Hiirnez in the 19th century, esp. $3 f. and 11 I ff. .HauckVfz, Nathwirkung von i i i s ff. i i z ff. Knópfier y zz f.

23 LktA VIII a jt8 l. IX y zo, LThK X^ jo . HEG Il j z7 f. Hzuck V/z, rogo f. io53 f, Kniipfler 5 za. Ku- P'-** * - -4- Rieder ä8 ff. q6 ff. i zy f. i 3 f. 3z6. Brandmüller, The Council of Constance ll i i 7. On Hussen's concept of the Eucharist -B the lecture with the same title by A. Kolesnr* 93-

24 LMA I i i y, V z3a, VI t u , VIII I7• *i $0 ff. IX 6 jq f. LThX X' iq7 '. HEG II 5 z8. Hauck VJz, io66 ff. i rot. Rieder qz ff. 98 f. i oz ff. roy f. i zo ff. i z7 f. zoq

25 Sproyi z85. Rieder iox ff. io6, i io ff. i i y ff. i z4 ff. i 89

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27 LMA 1 5 i y f. HEX 11 4T4 Ritöer I§$' 5 3' 57 ff. POS

z8 LMA V°34 Rieder i z8, r 3i, i 38 f. i $ g ff. '7 z, zr-j, 'y6 f. f 8z f. z8 fi IX. co7 , zzof. Wendehorst z, z4g ff. Deschner, Opus Oiaboli jo f. Zu Silesia, rva the Breslziucr Bìs¢hof Konrad IV, Fiirst of Oels, p l a y e d a fiih- ring role, see Drabina **163 ff**.

29 Lk4A ! 947 *- *oyc¢, Sigmund j $o. Ricd0£ i öi f. 166 Of. j *7' 8 +7

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7. KAPITEL
DxscxnsiucxREuRoaxcscex
MiTTSDRSI).]dHRHUNDERTG

UNDER n -SOH DERze BznJccs icwr i-
GUNG PAT'ST ÉUCENS ÉJ., wE Tt'**ER£R**
JuORNPOGROhTS AND THE Dzur-
sc CEN RITTEROKDENS

i Neuss zfi8

z Zii. &i Gregorovius III/i, zq. Cf. LMA VH 38

j Gregorovius ll1/i, xq, 4 i f.

t Thorn. de Aquin. Opera omnia, ed. Pasis. r88o tabula i a-o, vol. 33, q3. Quoted from Pinay yiy Cited in Scliopcn f. 6 Hee§ Kreuzziige z¢8 f.

y LMfi V i4 4 i 68d, z i 8j. LThK tl' y3. Sepprlt IV z3 y f. zyo f. zyfi ff.

8 LMA I i ry ff. IV ioq¢ f. V nt) i f. VI i 68y. LThK II' y3 Rf. K* 3*{ ff. X' jqd. HKG III/z, yzq ff. Pastor I zp9 ff. Schniirer IU zyo f.

q LMfi 1 i 5 i 8, N 8of. VII i 66 f. LThit il ¡ 3 f. III' 98 i f. VIII' 98 f. Xelly ayl Rf. Der kleine Ploerx tot. Gregorovius IIIfz, i z f. i9 f. Schniircr III z88 ff. Scppelt IV z76' z8o, z8y, xqq. Kiihner, The Empire *43 Ehlers 33o ff· Cawihorne r 68

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11 LMA IV 8 i, VII +4+ - VIII rooq, ^7- +7 8 f. LThK X' 'i 55. Cf. LThK X' 8 x8. Kelly x6o, HEG II 6y5 ff. Gregorovius III/i, i¢ f. i4 ff-

* - 3s - b6SFOt Ï 3O6 If. Srppelt N z8S, Kühnez, The Inn efiu**^*4^

'3 LThK III' 8 i. III' 98 i f. Ketly z q., Gregorovius III/I, -*. 4- Neuss z68, Pastor 1.3i i f. Schaitter z78. Schnürer z88. Scppclt IV ^75 Küh- **nel Das** lmperiu^ ***4*-** +huchert/ Schiitie 3l

*4 LMA IV 3 O f. K j 3 f. LThK II' 5q. V 9zs. HKG HUR 59.3 j 98

15 LMA IV jqi f. LThK III Ii79 - ' 9aa, HKG III/z, yg8 f. Grtgorovius IIIf r, j z H. Norden7 r x ff. Knöpfler bor f. Seppttt N zqo brrichtet von 4fi @iechisckenUnrerxeichnem. Ygj. also zqz. Schuchert/Schüttc 3jy f.

16 LMA IV 392 L. Äf 132$ f. LThK V' qaz. HEG II i i6¢. HKG III/a, yqq f. Norden 7i 8 ff. Seppelt IV z9i f.

-7 North 7i- - RPP- r lV z9z. Schuchert/schütte j36

z8 LMA IV 8o, 153d. V 3oo, i ¢6i, f 34 VI i 5 y, y9x f. +9 ^ i y8of. i 869, Vfl1 i io6, iöq5. HKG III/x, Jqz f. 5q6 (Runciman). HEG 11 i 16z f. Army, Crusades i r. Ati- va i 3zf. Deschner/Peirovic 4z ff.

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20 LMA V iz6, i 5i4' VIII i iofi, i4 r 3. -*' - ! 354-Zb)lner history Kreuxsiigo x 6 f.

II LMA I z ®4*. **6, j6 z, x jy8, 1461' i Schniirer ITI 30$. Kretschm9yr Il j6o f. Scppelt f'\/ 3z8 f. f-leer, Krcuzzüge i 5 z. Atiya i 3i, i 36 ff. Zöllnet, History of the Crusades xr6 f.

22 LMA I xoq, 8g 5 f. g63. IV i g 32. V zi 6 f. VII 8i i f. VIII i J6t f. HEG II 47- Ehlers oj. ElzcfRepgen 5q8

23 LMA V z i H. Schnürcr III z+7

24 ^ 3 *73 i, 1.9 § 3. IÏ z8 i. I qqi f. LThK IX' i 5y 8. HEG 11 4 ^ f. mft b1jÏen Literaturhinweisen Anin. i 5. Griipp V 66. Kosminski I 3i z. Bürtner, Die sozialen Kdmpfe f 3 Ï . SlfCher rqo. Gerlacli i 5 If. 5 - 9+ - 9 - ^ ^4 I. Friedenthal 8 y If. Rösenep Bauem zŋ x f.

25 Pierer V zzz f. LMA III i qyz f. V *°9 – +3 9- LThK VI' °4^- HEG 1.434- 4

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27 LMA lV 2OJj É. Il zOl $ Ì. Vlll x9o, y9 3. HEG Il 49, Elze/Repgen q8

z8 LMA I q6z f. 7* - io8q f. V 554a §*A p L VI y$ "p {Autrand). HEG II 8q8. Ehlers joo ff. xq6 ff.

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32 Ann. v. Melk, MGH Script. IK 5i7. LMA VI ¢qq, r yay. A. Müller, Ge- schichte der Juden 6p. Hruby zq8 f. Hirsch/Schuder i g8 f. On the accusation

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j6 WetzerfYPelie E 31s ff. LMA V y6of. Donin V 5¢ö. Theiner III 8i. Lca II äT3 ff. 5chniirer III 30 f. Pasior I 8t ff. Boockmsnn, The Minelaltcr ^57

37 Weizerf9feIie M jaz ff. LThK V' 4.5 7 - HKG III/*' 7*7' ^ 11 Öt3 Ïf. III i qq. Scbnürer III 30 f. Pastor t 48d **note z. Heer, Kreuzzüge** j6, Lambert, ÏCetzerei im Minel- rather -s7- BreuerfGraetz 5 y f.

8 LThK V' 4.1· b£tSfor I q8x f. Roth ^7®- BOHkmann, The Mimlalter z£8

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40 * ^ 9 7 t °°^-'cini), Taddey *i xo9.* Kültner Lexicon io6. Heer, KrcUzzüge i'7 ff. ßoockmann, The ü4itiel age ii -. 341-

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42 LMA V *7t'- "+^ 3- ! !! 45 !- 733- ° 97- LThK Y' 7 +^- Taddcy II85, ı tzy. HEG ll ı ayaf. oy6 f. Zimmerling zgy lf. Deschnez, The cross with the church 130

43 LMA III 2yq, IV zo8 i, V z2 , VII **+449,** VIII 4§9' 733 *- *ThK **III'** z j z. T "ddey 5-4. HEG 11 ioq8. room- Ïfing *14 ' * °

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i Battista Spagnoli of Mantua cited in Seppclt IV 366

z HKG III/x, 63q. Vgt. bcs. also Pasior I *77

3 Cited bri Gregorovius III/+. 79 Cawrliorne i7i Kiihner, The Empire A§5 $.

6 Cawthorne ry6 f.

7 LMA VII y io ff. LThK VIII' ioqq ff. +84 . Burckhardt 46d, Miinkler 7 ^ ° ° 7' ^3. Mont q ff. Reinhardt, Die Renaissance io ff. i 3. Muhlack zy ff. Vgi. also the following. Aria

8 SeppeJt JV 30} f. Deschner, Aberntals **292 f.**

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i3 LMA t boy L V pip. Yl z^7*. LThK Vllf' sz3. Kelly x6z f. Kiihnez¡ Lexi- kon *4*· Münk]er j zo. Neuss x76. SeppeJc IV j z9 f. j z6, Kühncr, Dss lmperium 6 f.

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15 LMA VII izzy f. Kelly x63 f. Kiihner u 5 f. Gregorovius III/i Zo f. Knöpf- ter q8 . Kretschmayr *11,363,* 36q. **IV 326 ff.** 6pzK69gK7O*b PPP'

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7 v. Wilpert III ioqq. Kühner, Lexicon i yof. LThK Vill' 3t3. Gregorovius 74- ml. aHch red f. Seppelz IV 3 j5 f. Hawthorne i 68. Burke iq6. p. femtt MuHeck xoz ff.

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22 Kühner, Lexikon z§o £. **Gregorovius** llVz 8o, po f. zoz

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25 LMA 1 °7° ^, z i9I. LThK VIII' 3Vj. Gregorovius IIlfi, 8¢ f. Seppclt lV 3qO f.

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) ○ LMA ! dyof. TV d6 ff. zz7 yf. Yl 4--. *!! '944a ^ e *!y* --7. LThK X' ¡o i. HEG IH zzt If. 86i, ro7 6, i i xz. Gregorovius III/i, io8 f. i i i. Psstor 11 i i If. Stppelt IV 3 i ff. 3 s. Kühner, The Inn colt* *J4' Heymann 3zo If. Cawthorne 7 i

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j3 Wetterf\X'elle X io6. LMA VII iq3 . LThK IX' 6¢y. Kühner, Lrxikon i ç 5, Kelly z68. HKG III/z, 5.5q. Ranke x 5, Grisaq Pàpstliche Finan- zen s56. K ühneq Dat Imperium -s7- Seppclt IV 3.5 , 3f'y ff. Stpprltf Schwaiger z6z

34 LThK IX* 4 fi K ühner, Lexikon r y j. Kelly z68. HKG IlVx, 6y j, Kühner, Das Imperium z$ $. Caw- tLOFftC 1.7.8

35 LThK IX' 45- Kelly z68. HEG III 86x. HKG lllfs, fi56. Grcgorovius IIIf i, i r 3, i s3 f. Paulus Ill iqi ff. Pa- sror lI 47+ * j 8 If. 63 ff. Sepprlr IV j jd f.

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7 - ®Alf. Ders., The Renaissance 3i. Cf. also Schunicht-Rawe/Lüp- **kes 21**

q dw LeXlkoft 14' *°*- LMA I 4°3' Kelly z68. HEG 111 86a f. 1-tKG 111/z, 6y4 f. Grcgorovius Ifl/i, r i9, i s5 If. Kretschmuyr 11 j8d If. Pastor 11 5yz ff. yyq, 58.6 ff. Seppelt IV jao f. Burke s6¢

40 LThK lX* 6d . Kelly s6q. HEG III 863. grcgornvius Illfi, ia9 ff. Paetnr *Ü* y 99 Éf. f:iO} *Lb.*

41 Ä DÏÏ I 9§9. k 77 Duden, Das Groor Fremdwörttrbuch s°3. Grigulevic II yd i ff. j46 f. 3 yo, 3}S f. Mat*17

42 LMfi V 6oq, VIII 82y. Pastor 11 6z . Grig- evic * i se, 3i-

¢3 LMfi VIII 822. LThK X' x i t. IX' i 37- Grigiiltviö 11.35 z ff. Matz J7- Desrhner, Opus Diabo]i qz, - Das Lexikon fiir Theologie und Kirche er-

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mentions the Størverbrecher conspicuously briefly; in the first edition iqy 8{øight half-lines) in essence btos informing that he as Inquisi- tor General -gave the spsnian Inquisition its final organization-, in the drítien Aufiage inn Jabr zooo that he

-the legal basis of the in- quisition. Here, half a century after Hitler, the addition that Torque- mada had contributed to the royal decision to expel the Jews from Spain, whereupon, according to various reports, r yoooo to 8oo£ oo Jews

vOn Club Uf1d ĞOf vt rjitgt wofdtn

have adopted Christianity, for example. The Lcxikon für Theologie und Kirche is completely silent about thousands of ashamed people.

44 Kelly z68. HXG IIIfz, 65ş f. Seppclt IV 3Sz ff. Grigulevič 11 167 f.

ąy LMA II q5ą f. V ą39 LThK V 5 zi. Kelly s6q. Kühner, Lexikon i 8. HKG IIIfz, 6 8. Gregorovius Iil/i, i 3ą. Pactoc III or t If. Scppclt IV 6q. Fuhrmønn, Die Pspsie i7. Cbømberlin zoo

ą6 LMA V ą3q. LThK V' j zi. Kühner, Lexîkon i ş8. Kelly xòq. HKG III/x. 6ş9. Seppeli IV 37* *. Chamberlin xoo. Cawthorne i?s f.

47 LMA V şąo. LThK V' zi. Kelly svq. Kühner, Ltxikon i y8 f. Grego- rovios IIIfi. -4 . Rønk^ °45 Leá fll yzz. Sridlmayer xqo. Gontard 34r. Stppelt IV 3zo If. Pastor III 3 iq I, Kühner, Dss Imperium i }q. Chambrrlin zoi. Cawthorne W8

ø8 LMA I i 7 ' 44 . LThK V' 5 xi. Xelly x6g f. HKG Hi/x, 6§9. Grego- rovius lll/i, i4 i ff. i dy. Pastor UI z28 f. $eppelt N 3yx f. Kühnes, Das Imperium a6o

49 LMA ! *4 5 ' 3s I. Kelly z6 . Kühner, Lexikon z y8, HEG III 86y f. f'astor ITI øz If. øø8 If. ż$ş, zy ï. Seppc1- 37º f. Kiihner, Das Impe- riumz 8 f.

jo Pierer IX 3 iO. LMA II ioöq If. ozJ *- 98o (Labande-Mailfert), !! +7f 9' *$9*

51 5o writes of Pnstor and also calls this death -edifying- and -tin wiirdiges- End: III z8 i f.

t. Ñ A PTTE L

AxFxxce OFS LANGBH

CHRl5rclCHtN Hexøøwnuns

1 Russell wz

2 Dszelniiiller ia LMA IV szo3

3 &hrìn Witches,Faith, Vedol- B**B43

4 Ô.ACm.*3

5 Dtr KleİllC **ÉflUlÿ** +46off. LThK X' 3 7 Rietzler i i

6 Deut. i 8,ro. i. Søm. i 5,x3. LMA N moor, VIII ri qq ff. IX ą83 f. LThK Ill z If. X' 13®7• Russdl y44 7 Ten. de coron. ntil. j; sd uxor z,j. Athan. c. gent. i {PCì z5,y A). Theo- dor h.e. j,3,ą. in ps. az,ą; top, z. Cyril, Jerus. Mysi. Cat. 13,3,3č.Joh. Chrysost. in h4øt h. horn. y ,ą. RAC 78* - 788!- 789. LMA III ąy6 f. IV xzoi. VIII 28 If. IX ąß3 LThK Ill' i If. Hoensbroech 1 z i z If. Heile5 Ercch<İnungdormen '7- *! with further references. Cf. also ibid. n6 f. Dannenbauer 15ş *H.* Rcik- ke/RDsc zoom f. Dölger, Beîwüge I *9*3l off. 3oft. ibid. {iqöą) 8 f. Ahlhcim i8 f. Schweizer 698. van der

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Natt 718, 750 f. Russell 45 ff. Vgl. you rol ff. io8 If. Kallis 2 io, 2 i i. Bchringer, Hexen und Hcxenprozesse **zy. Cf.** also Zacharia- s >- iq ff.

8 Cf. august. civ. dei z, q; z, z#; x, *!9'i* 4' +' 4i +9' 7' 33' ' ^4 ff. 9, x f. q, 2 If. i i, i i If. iz, i f. i 5, i3. Gen ad litt. z, W, 37; 3, io, xi f. i i, a,

4 f. I I, 16, z I¡ 1.1, 19, 2'6¡ 11, A6, j 3; en, in ps. io3; i rj; x 3f, 3. div. daem. 3, 7; 4, 8; c. Jul. 3, zö, 63. hexenhammer l 3J. LMA IV zxoi. RieN°+ 4*· Hcileq forms of appearance xqq, d2q. Funke 8oz. van der Natt yi 8, y3off. Russell 6 f. 6 ,

*°9- ' 34. 4.3 Behringep Hexen q,

-4- *al· also Panchovsky i 8 f.

q LMA .3°

to All source references hei Horns braech I *75 - Cf. 8ehringer, Hexon z

i i LMA IV zzo3. Riezler z7. Bashviti y y. Brhringer, Hexen und Hexen-Prozes-- *se* Die zwei Versionen des - Canon episcopi- hei Russell tq i If. See also ibid. 6' 7 - and register

in Caes. v. Htisterb. Wunderbare ond denkrdige GeschlChten 7, - I y f. ¢6; ¡o f. 5 - *7. 7 ' 93. 9i i i y, i zo, iqy f. iqq. LivlA II i 36d If. {Wagner) N zzoy, LThK 11' 79 Ï. Riezler q. Beliringer, Witches q

i3 LMA VITI 2 io. Ritzler j 6, q i f. Hocnsbroech I zi f. zM f. There the source reference, Grfgulev'* 7 3 r6. Russell i #6 f. Bchringrr, Hexes. Faith. Decker St If. 33. Pntschonky 3z f. Deschner @@rfrtit ÏS q 8.6

u Werzerf\Pelie V i yj. LMA **IV z1O3-** Riezier 8 f. Hoeiubroech I z*78!. khillcbceckx 6i f.

r 5 Grigulevic I z i 3 f. Russell y i f. q f. qq f. R. van Dührrn, Kultt1+ 7 bee. 88 ff. Patschovsky jy8 ff. Zur Grausxmkcit jl. erwa Sebald, Der Hexenjunge io ff. Mynarek, The New Inquisi"-- 's -

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17 LMA VII 1240 ff. 1603 f. Behringer, Witches. Gtaubr. Verkilgung 3z ff. Witches and witch trials 6 , SS ff.

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zz Cf. Hexerihammcr passim, esp. XII ff. XXIV II. Part 1 q s. auct Dec- ker 47 ff.

zj Hexenhzmmer I zq ff. ¢z ff. tot. II 46 If. jz ff.

>4Ibd I * - 9j H. ä. z}

Ibid ?off.

z6 Ibid. 1.73

*7 Ibid. I fi8, i i 6 f. II ty, 8y ff.

s8 HeinsahnfSteiger passim, esp. i i ff. io i ff. xzj ff. 36q ff. Cf. also Kammeier-Nebel öy ff., K. Arnold, Dit Einstellung y 3 ff., Heinsohn, Lexikon der Völkermorde i 66

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6 LMA Vil i ¢ f. Kelly ^7- HKG lllfz, 66o f. Gregorovius Illfi, i¢q ff. ' 54a i ' **tOI- }{| 390 f$. 347 - 3.54 fb. 3 ' 4°9. Cf. also HUD, ioy3 No, 13, Hertling --7- >PP- '. Papacy inn 5pfirmittelalter i 7 - Chamberlin i98, zo3 ff. Kiihner, Das Imperium t6i. de Rosa i zq f. Cawthorne i 8y ff. i q i

7 HKG Illfz, 66i. Chamberlin ao8 f. Cawthorne i 88 f. Cf. Grcgorovius 1ll/i, i z

8 Miinkler 4- HKG III/i, 66i. Gregorpvius Ill/i, i ¡5, i6 i f. Pastor III *i*-!- 5*4 -. also the Pcrsoneoregister at Pastor III/z, r nt8

9 Pascor llI 3a ' 44* - *}q8. chamberlin zzx f.

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11 Rankg 4*. Gregorovius liI/z, z1z, de Pink zjj

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14 Kelly ^7+- Kiihner, Lcxikon i6i. Hergenröther II¡4 ®. Gregornvius **Ill/1, 158, 167 ff. 174 ff. 178 ff. 184 Pastor III 367, 385 ff. 391 f. 394 ff.** too, Doz ff. oy, q r z ff. q rd', zz, 4* . III/z, ro6z no. 3q. Stppelt, Papsttum im Spiitmittelalter i7ö- Chamberlin ii 8 ff. Kühner, Das lmperium z6i ff. Cewthorne drew, Burke ty6 f.

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iqLMA VII 1414. LThK IX' 94 f. HKG III/z, 66d. Pastor III *7 ff. i86 ff. 9T 47^' 49®. Duan z 5 y(zd1f z68 L S@pch, Ppwmm in Späbnittclalter 38o f. Goniard 334i. Kühnez, The Empire x6z. Chambtrlin **286. Cawthorne 207. Burke 193 f.** tyy. Reinhardt, The Medici ior f. io§

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24 Grcgorovius III/z, r6x, ay7 If. f'astoc

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*7 Gr¢goroviuc III/t, .z'7 If. Knöpfler 489, Pas'ot I1Ï 3 f. j 8 z ff. Oom- bcrlin zgz, Cawtborae az8

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*64 87f Hertling z 3. Gontard 34o ff. 348. Sepptlt, Popsttur inn SpiitmittelalFer 388, jq8. Cawthorne z . - Cf. the attitude of Jesus and the evasions of the Church: Deschneq Abtrmslg Sql ff.

35 ^ 347!. < y *73- Kühaer, Lexikon . i ö9. Grcgornvius IIIfz,

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37 Xell7 *73 Gregorovius l\l/1, 38a ff.

86 ff. Psstor Ilt/x, 2y8 f., 72°, 777, 7.3. 7.6 f. 7q8 f. S rr-1i, Papacy in the late min]age 3q i f.

38 Kelly 27 3. HKG III/s, 66q. Gregoro- vius IIIfs, 5qs ff. icpictures the battle in detail. Zoo ff. o6. Posinr Illfz,

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4 Kühneq Lex'>-^ ^77 Ranke s'- Grcgorovius BÏ/z, §j y. PasrDr IV/1, 3 s° ff. 4-'. '-z **- ' ** >P !'- Papacy in the late Middle Ages i i. Chsinberlin z 8 If. According to the church order of the Roman bishop Hippolytus in the 3rd century, however, hunters also had to give up hunting or they could not become bishops. Cf. Oeschne5 Again o6

41 Gregocovius III/x, q36 f. Ftstor IVfi, j63, 4 r 5 ff' Scppelt, Papsttum im Spätmirtelalter q io, Chambtrlin sy8, z6of.

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43 **Kühner, Lexikon 177. Pastor IV/1,** j 5fi j66 fÈ. 37 -

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6 Pölnin I i ii ff. II 9 i f. q4 f. i xi f. *i z9.* Moelly Germany in the Age of Reformation 2 i. To zo3 ff. On the concept of -monopoly- (the most - used economic catchword at the time -} *g1. Prien j f. see also J8 ff.

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11 MÄ 3 Ifi, zz6. Paul III *7®. 37s - 3.9. 47° ff. &ringer I i 6y. Jone 6j7. lcisi zi 8 ff. zt8 f. ßäumer, Martin Luther and the Pope io

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° 7 **WA 1,573. 39,1,6 f.; 50, 379: 54, 179 ff. LW I 3 ff. Grisar, Luther I** i7'. Schort 7 - ®-um0p Marrin Luther and the Papsr 2 f. io f. i q, i q. Borth i q ff. (with the source referencesaJ. Plöce/Vogttr i Jq f. Honselmann i 3 y ff. provides a comparison of the original version of the Theeses and their December version.

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Zarn, W., Augsburg. History of a European city. From the beginnings to the present, d. A., zooi

ABBREVIATIONS

of sources, scientific journals and reference works

Adam v. Brem. Ccsts Hamm.: Adern van Bremen, Geita Hammaburgensis ecclesi8e pontificum

Ammian: Ammianus Marcellinus, Res geslae

Ann. Fuld: Annales Fuldenscs

Ann. Lauresh.: Annales Laureshsmen-S¢S

Ann. Mosell.: Annales Mosellani

Ano. Quedlinb.- finnales Quedlinbur- genses

Ann, Xant: AnnaleS Xantenses

A han. c. gcnt.: Athsnasius, orario conrm gentes

August. civ. dei: Augustine, de civitate Dei

August. c. Faust: COIt¢f6 F4uS¢tim Manichseum libri wiginta wes

August. c. on.: contra julianurn haeresis Pelagianae defensorem libri sex

August. de div. doem.: de divinatione daemonum

Augusi. de docrr. christ.: de doutrina christiana

August. ep.: Letters (PL 33}

August. en. in ps.: Enarrationes in pSalmos

Bonif. ep.: Bonifarius, Letterc

Caesar. Arel. serm.: Caesarius of Arles,

Canon. Apnsi.: Canones Aposiolorum

Chron. Mogunt.: Chronicle of Mainz

ChrysoCt.: jphannes Chz}'sostomos

Chrysost. hom.: Homilies

Cyril. Hieros. carech.: Cyril of Jerusalem, catecheses

DAEM: German Archive for **Research and Development**
research of the middle ear

EA: Erlanger Ausgabe der Lucher-Werke

FMASt: Frühmittelalterliche Studien, Beriin +9^7 ff.

Gerh. v. Reichcrsb., de invesrig. AnLichr.: Gerhotc}h von Reichersberg, de investigatione Aatichristi

Gcrh. v. Reichnrsberg, de aedif. Dei: Opusculum de atdificio Dei

Gesta Alb.: Gesta Alberonis

Htlm. Chron. Sluv.: Helmold von Bosau, Chronica S)avorum

HEG: Handbook of the eurppiiisrhen Ctschich'<, ed. Th. Schilder

HJL: Hessisches Jahrbuch für Lnndesgeschichte, Marburg s5 I ff.

HJ: Hisiorisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Society, Münster, Munich, Freiburg i 88c ff.

HKG: Handbook of Church History, ed. by H. jedin, 6 vols.

HVß: Bamberg Historical Society

HS: Historische Zeitschrih, Munich i8yq ff.

jbAC:. Jahrbuch fiir Antike und Christentum, Münster i 958 ff.

Cyril Jerus. s. Cyrill. Hieros.

Leander, lib. de instit. virg.: Leander, Liber de institutionc virginum et con-'ernpcu mundi

Lex Adam.: Lex A)amannorum

Lex Baiuv.: Lex Baiuvariorum

Lex Rib.: **Lex** Ribuaria

LMA: **Lexikon** des Mittelalters, q vols, Munich, Zurich i q8ofi qq8

LThK: Lexicon for Theology and Church che, i i vol. Freiburg ßasel, Rom, Vienna. 3rd completely revised edition.
ld@t I Q'93/OOO r

LW: Luthers Werke in Auswahl, 8 vols. With the collaboration of Albert Leitt- mann, edited by O. Clemen. Fifth ed. ed. Berlin rqyq/iq6i

MGH: Monumenta Ciermeiiiee hisrorica i 8z6 ff.

Moses: Books of Moses (Pentateuch)

PL: J.-P. Migne, Panx'logiae cursus compl€tL\s ... **St¢it6** la¢ina

Paenite. Cu mm.: Paeaiteatiale Cumme- ani

Paen. Valic: Paenitcntiale Vallicellianum

QFIAB: Sources and research from Italian archives and libraries. ken. Rome r8$y ff.

AAC: Reallcxikon fiir Antike und Chri- stentum. Dictionary for the examination of Christianity with the ancient world, edited by Th. Klausner, Stud I95O ff.

RGAK: Reallexikon der germanischen A)tertumskunde, ed. by J. Hoops,4 vol. Straübuzg 19s z/z9 TB

RQ: Römische Quartalschrift für chrisrliche Altertumslrunde und Kirchengeschichte, Freiburg i 88d ff.

i., z. Sem.: The Books of Samuel

Spec.: Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Snidies, Cambridge, Mass, i9x6 ff.

Syn.: Synod

Syn. elv.: Elvira

*rn. Mac: Macon

Syn. mer.: Merida

Syri. Olm.: Olf4tütZ

Syn. Pav.: Pavia

Syn. salam.: Salainanca

Syn, Tol.: Toledo

Syn. valence: Valence

Syn Vallad: Valladolid

Teri. ad iixor: Tertullian, ad uxorem

Teri. cor.: de corona militis

Theodor. h. e.: Theodorer of Cyrus {Kyrrhosl, Church History Thom.

S. theol.: Thomas Aquinas, Sumnsa theologise

TQ.: Theologische Quarialschrih, Tübingen x8¢q H.

VSWG.:Vierteljahresschrift für Sozialend Wirtscliahsgeschichre, Wiesbaden u. a. iqo3 ff.

Vita Ben: Vita ßenaonis

Vita Eig.: Vita Eigilis

WA: Weimar Edition. Critical Complete Edition of the Works of Martin Lu- rher, Weimar i 883 ff.

ZBK: Journal for Bavarian Church History, Munich and others iqz6 **ff**.

ZKG: Zeitschrift für **1876 ff.**

Kirehtngeschichte ZKTh: Zeitschrift für Katholische Theology, How- -- . 7 ^94 3. iqqy ff.

ZOG: Zeitschrik für Osdorsciiung. Länder uad Völker im östlichen Mittel- europa, Marburg i q5z H.

ZRG: Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, WßtlDßr 1861li fl78, **continued as** Zeiischrifi der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte mit eintr Germanische, einer Romanischen und einer Kanonistiuhen Abteilung

REGISTER

The following index contains all the names of characters, including fictitious, legendary or legendary ones, as well as the names of all more or less fictitious or mythical characters from other literatures or traditions. Since the quotations were taken from the source in the form of letters, the same names appear in different spellings. To facilitate the search, in certain cases one and the same person has been included in the register with several name variants. Cross-references are largely omitted to save the user inconvenience. Prefixes, titles, names, relationships and citations are added pragmatically, not systematically, so that the reader does not have to look them up unnecessarily. As a rule, secondary characters are characterized more precisely than the more well-known characters.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich Leopold Dcscliner was hewn on **2$. f\ääf I9°4 '^** Bamberg. His father Karl, F6rster and Fischziichteq catholic, eatsuimmte srmsten 4ethülinissen. His mother Margarete Karnline, née Rrischböck, pratestant, grew up in the castles of her father in Franconia and Niedrrhayem. 5 She later converted to Catholicism.

Karlheinz Deschntx, the eldest of three children, went to elementary school in Troi- scnftirt (Stcigecwald) from tpz$ to xyyy, then to the Franciscan seminary in Dettel- bach am t\4ain, where he initially lived externally with the family of his godfather and godfather, the clerical councilor Leopold Baumann, then in the Fronziskunerkloster. From *i 934* to i 9 z, he attended the old, new and German grammar schools in Bamberg as an intcmatssr student with Carmelites and Eng1i "rhen Fräulein. In March iq4 z he passed
the school-leaving examination. Like his entire class, he immediately enlisted as a war volunteer
and was - mthrinale -erwunder - a soldier until the capitulation, zulerit paratrooper.

Initially a student of forestry at the University of Munich, Dcschner 94 47 studied at the University of Philosophy and Theology in Bamberg, where he took courses in theology, theology, philosophy and psychology.
Sung. From Iggy bi9 1py E he studied New German Literature, Philosophy and History at the University of Würzburg and graduated with a Dr. pkil with a *thesis on* "LtnsvsLyrik sis Ausdruck rnersphysißcher Verzweiflung". His marriage to Elfi Tuch in the same year resulted in three children, Kaja
{i qy i J, Bärbel { i q58) and Thomas {i g jq to i g84}.

From i 9*4 to 9'4 Deschntr lived in a former hunting lodge of the Wünburg prince-bishops in Trenendorf lsrcigcrwald), then for two years in the country house of a friend in Fischbrunn (Htrsbruck Switzerland). Since then he has lived in Hassfuri am Main.

Ksrlheinz Deschner has published novels, literary criticism, essays, aphorisms and, above all, historical works critical of religion and the church. Over the years, Deschner has fascinated and inspired his audience at over two thousand lectures.

rq7 i he stood trial in Nuremberg for insulting the church.

>'- +97 *°>'>t Deschner on his great legacy - Kriminalgeschichte des Christenturns-. Since there are no posts, civil servant positions, research grants, honorary salaries or endowments for such restless and unsettling spirits as him, his immense research work and output was only possible thanks to the selfless help of several friends and, above all, thanks to the support of a generous friend and patron Alfred Schwarz, who co-sponsored the publication of the first volume in Stptrmber 1986, but did not live to see the second volume, which has since been published by the deuuchen entrepreneur Herbert Steffen.

-*+^° +9 7 ^ßhm Descliner at the University of Münster cintn teaching assignment on the subject of -Crrinslgeschichte des Christcntums-.

After Koeppcn, Wollschliigtr and Ruhmkorf, Karl- heinz Dtsrhner was awarded the Amo Schmidt Prize in 1988 for his commitment to enlightenment and for his literary work. In June xqq3 - after Walter Jens, Dieter Hildebrandt, Gerhard Zwereriz and Robert Jungk - he was awarded the Alternative Büchner Prize and in July iq 3 - after Sakharov and Dubétk - he was the first German to receive the International Humanie Award. In September, Deschner received the Erwin Fischer Prize from the International Federation of Non-Christians and Atheists, and in November the Ludwig Feuerbsch Prize from the ßund für Gtistesfreiheit, Augsburg.

The7 ominous video film by Ricarda Hinz and Jacques Tilly entitled -Die hass-erfüllten Augen des Herrn Deschner- deals with the -Xziminalgeschichte des CluistenumS- - pro and contra. Available from: Humanist Association Germany, Wallatrafie 6r--d , i°x7q Berlin.

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